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YEARS OF
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General Editor :
PROF. P. V. BAPAT

FOREWORD BY
S. RADHAKRISHNAN



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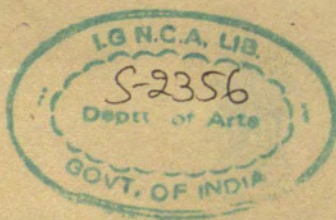
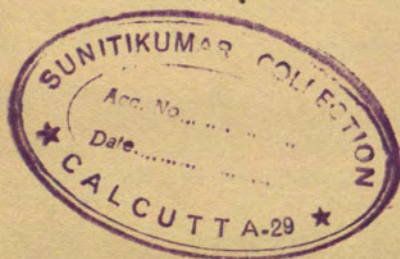
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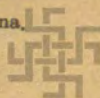
FOREWORD

Sixth century B.C. was remarkable for the spiritual unrest and intellectual ferment in many countries. In China we had Lao Tzu and Confucius, in Greece Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in India Mahāvīra and the Buddha. In that period many remarkable teachers worked upon their inheritance and developed new points of view.

The Pūrṇimā or full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha is connected with three important events in the life of the Buddha—birth, enlightenment and parinirvāṇa. It is the most sacred day in the Buddhist calendar. According to the Theravāda Buddhism, the Buddha's parinirvāṇa occurred in 544 B.C.¹ Though the different schools of Buddhism have their independent systems of chronology, they have agreed to consider the full-moon day of May 1956 to be the 2,500th anniversary of the mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama the Buddha. This book gives a short account of the story of Buddhism in the last 2,500 years.

The main events of the Buddha's life are well known. He was the son of a minor ruler of Kapilavastu, grew up in luxury, married Yaśodharā, had a son, Rāhula, and led a sheltered life where the world's miseries were hidden. On four occasions when he went out of his palace, so the legend tells us, he met an old man and felt that he was subject to the frailties of age, met a sick man and felt that he was liable to sickness, met a corpse and felt that he was also subject to death, and met an ascetic with a peaceful countenance who had adopted the traditional way of the seekers of religious truth. The Buddha resolved to gain

1. The Bodhi Gaya inscription gives 544 B.C. as the date of parinirvāṇa.



freedom from old age, sickness and death by following his example. The mendicant tells the Buddha:

*nara-puṅgava janma-mṛtyu bhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ
pravrajītosmi mokṣa-hetoḥ*¹

I am a śramaṇa, an ascetic, who in fear of birth and death have left home life to gain liberation.

The sight of the holy man, healthy in body, cheerful in mind, without any of the comforts of life, impressed the Buddha strongly with the conviction that the pursuit of religion was the only goal worthy of man. It makes man independent of the temporary trials and fleeting pleasures of the world. The Buddha decided to renounce the world and devote himself to a religious life. He left his home, wife and child, put on the garb and habits of a mendicant, and fled into the forest in order to meditate on human suffering, its causes and the means by which it could be overcome. He spent six years in the study of the most abstruse doctrines of religion, suffered the severest austerities, reduced himself to the verge of starvation in the hope that, by mortifying the flesh, he should surely attain to the knowledge of truth. But he came very near death without having attained the wisdom that he sought. He gave up ascetic practices, resumed normal life, refreshed himself in the waters of the river Nairāñjanā, accepted the milk pudding offered by Sujātā: *nāyam ātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ*. After he gained bodily health and mental vigour he spent seven weeks under the shade of the Bodhi tree, sitting in a state of the deepest and most profound meditation. One night towards the dawn his understanding opened and he attained enlightenment. After the enlightenment the Buddha refers to himself in the third person as the Tathāgata: he who has arrived at the truth. He wished to preach the knowledge he gained and so said: "I shall go to Banaras where I will light the lamp that will

1. Aśvaghoṣa: Buddhacarita, V, 17.



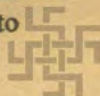
bring light into the world. I will go to Banaras and beat the drums that will awaken mankind. I shall go to Banaras and there I shall teach the Law." "Give ear, O mendicants! The Deathless (amṛta, eternal life) has been found by me. I will now instruct. I will preach the Dharma." He travelled from place to place, touched the lives of hundreds, high and low, princes and peasants. They all came under the spell of his great personality. He taught for forty-five years the beauty of charity and the joy of renunciation, the need for simplicity and equality.

At the age of eighty he was on his way to Kuśinagara, the town in which he passed into parinirvāṇa. Taking leave of the pleasant city of Vaiśālī with his favourite disciple, Ānanda, he rested on one of the neighbouring hills and looking at the pleasant scenery with its many shrines and sanctuaries, he said to Ānanda, *citram jambudvīpam, manoramam jīvitam manuṣvāṇām*. "Colourful and rich is India, lovable and charming is the life of men." On the banks of the river Hiranyavatī in a grove of sāla trees, the Buddha had a bed prepared for himself between two trees. He gently consoled his disciple, Ānanda, who was lamenting bitterly. "Do not weep, do not despair, Ānanda. From all that he loves man must part. How could it be that what is born, what is subject to instability, should not pass. May be, you were thinking, 'we have no longer a master'. That must not be, O Ānanda. The doctrine I have preached to you is your master." He repeated:

*handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo:
vayadhammā sankhārā, appamādena sampādetha 'ti*

Verily, I say unto you now, O monks: All things are perishable; work out your deliverance with earnestness.

These were his last words. His spirit sank into the depths of mystic absorption and when he had attained to



that degree where all thought, all conception disappears, when the consciousness of individuality ceases, he entered into the supreme nirvāṇa.

II

In the life of the Buddha, there are two sides, individual and social. The familiar Buddha-image is of a meditating sage, yogin, absorbed and withdrawn, lost in the joy of his inner meditation. This is the tradition associated with the Theravāda Buddhism and Aśoka's missions. For these the Buddha is a man, not God, a teacher and not a saviour. There is the other side of the Buddha's life, when he is concerned with the sorrows of men, eager to enter their lives, heal their troubles and spread his message for the good of the many: *bahu-jana-hitāya*. Based on this compassion for humanity, a second tradition matured in North India under the Kuṣāṇas (70—480 A.D.) and the Guptas (320—650 A.D.). It developed the ideal of salvation for all, the discipline of devotion and the way of universal service. While the former tradition prevails in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, the latter is found in Nepal, Tibet, Korea, China, and Japan.

All forms of Buddhism, however, agree that the Buddha was the founder, that he strove and attained transcendental wisdom as he sat under the Bodhi tree, that he pointed a way from the world of suffering to a beyond, the undying, and those who follow the path for liberation may also cross to the wisdom beyond. This is the root of the matter, the essential unity underlying the many differences in outlook and expression that came to characterize Buddhism as it spread from India to other parts of the world.

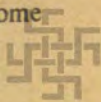
The essence of all religion is a change in man's nature. The conception of second birth, *dvitīyam janma*, is the central teaching of the Hindu and the Buddhist religions. Man is not one but a multiplicity. He is asleep, he is an automaton. He is inwardly discordant. He must wake up, become united, harmonious within himself and free. The Greek mysteries

implied this change in our nature. Man himself is conceived as a grain which could die as a grain but be reborn as a plant different from the grain. A bushel of wheat has two possible destinies, to be pounded and made into flour and become bread; or to be sown in the ground, to germinate and become a plant, and give a hundred grains for one that is sown. St. Paul borrowed this idea in describing the Resurrection when he says: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." The change is a transformation of the substance itself. Man is not a complete final being. He is a being who can transform himself, who can be born again. To effect this change, to be reborn, to be awakened, is the goal of all religions as of Buddhism.

Our subjection to time, to *saṃsāra*, is due to *avidyā*, unawareness, leading to infatuation, depravity, *āśava*. Ignorance and craving are the substratum of the empirical life. From *avidyā* we must rise to *vidyā*, *bodhi*, enlightenment. When we have *vipassanā*, knowledge by seeing, clear perception, we will acquire *saṃatā*, unshakable calm. In all this, the Buddha adopts the Vedic criterion of certainty which is rooted in actual knowledge which is attained by immediate experience, direct intellectual intuition of reality: *vathā-bhūta-ñāna-dassana*.

III

The Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. He was restating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization. "Even so have I, monks, seen an ancient way, an ancient road followed by the wholly awakened ones of olden times . . . Along that have I gone, and the matters that I have come to know fully as I was going along it, I have told to the monks, nuns, men and women lay-followers, even, monks, this Brahma-faring, brahmachariya that is prosperous and flourishing, widespread and widely known, become



popular—in short, well made manifest for gods and men.”

The quest of religious India has been for the incomparable safety, fearlessness, abhaya, mokṣa, nirvāṇa. It is natural for man to strive to elevate himself above earthly things, to go out from the world of sense to free his soul from the trammels of existence and gross materiality, to break through the outer darkness into the world of light and spirit. The Buddha aims at a new spiritual existence attained through jñāna or bodhi, absolute illumination. “But I deem the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither old age, nor fear, nor disease, nor birth, nor death, nor anxieties, and in which there is no continuous renewal of activity.”

*pade tu yasminn na jarā na bhīr na ruṇ na janma
naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamam na vidyate
yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā²*

The Buddha aimed at a spiritual experience in which all selfish craving is extinct and with it every fear and passion. It is a state of perfect inward peace, accompanied by the conviction of having attained spiritual freedom, a state which words cannot describe. Only he who has experienced it knows what it is. The state is not life in paradise where the gods dwell. “You should feel shame and indignation, if ascetics of other schools ask you if it is in order to arise in a divine world that ascetic life is practised under the ascetic Gautama.” Even as the Upaniṣads distinguish mokṣa from life in brahmaloka, the Buddha points out that the gods belong to the world of manifestation and cannot therefore be called absolutely unconditioned. Existence has as its correlative non-existence. The really unconditioned is beyond both existence and non-existence. The state of the mukta, the Buddha, is higher than that of the Brahmā. It is

1. Saṃyutta-nikāya.

2. Aśvaghoṣa: Buddhacarita, XI, 59.



invisible, resplendent and eternal. There is a higher than the gods, a transcendental. Absolute described in the Udāna as *ajāta*, unborn, *abhūta*, unbecome, *akata*, unmade, *asankhata*, uncompounded. This is the Brahman of the Upaniṣads which is characterized as *na iti, na iti*.¹ The Buddha calls himself *brahma-bhūta*, he who has become Brahman. The Buddha adopted an absolutist view of Ultimate Reality though not a theistic one. He felt that many abstained from action in the faith that God would do everything for them. They seemed to forget that spiritual realization is a growth from within. When the educated indulged in vain speculations about the Inexpressible, the uneducated treated God as a being who could be manipulated by magic rites or sorcery. If God forgives us any way it makes little difference how we live. The Buddha revolted against the ignorance and superstition, the dread and the horror, which accompanied popular religion. Besides, theistic views generally fill men's minds with dogmatism and their hearts with intolerance. Doctrinal orthodoxy has filled the world with unhappiness, injustice, strife, crime, and hatred.

The conception of the world as *saṃsāra*, a stream without end, where the law of karma functions, is common to all Indian systems, Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh. Nothing is permanent, not even the gods. Even death is not permanent for it must turn to new life. The conduct of the individual in one life cannot determine his everlasting destiny. The Buddha does not accept a fatalistic view. He does not say that man has no control over his future. He can work out his future, become an Arhat, attain *nirvāṇa*. The Buddha was an ardent exponent of the strenuous life. Our aim is to conquer time, overcome *saṃsāra* and the way to it is the moral path which results in illumination.

The Buddha did not concede the reality of an unchange-

1. Cf. also "from which the words turn back together with the mind, not having attained". Tattiriya Upaniṣad, II, 4. In the Tattiriya Brahmanas it is said : "Before the gods sprang into existence, I was", II, 8,8.



able self for the self is something that can be built up by good thoughts and deeds, but yet he has to assume it. While karma relates to the world of objects, of existence, in time, nirvāṇa assumes the freedom of the subject, of inwardness. We can stand out of our existential limits. We experience the nothingness, the void of the world to get beyond it. To stand out of objective existence there must come upon the individual a sense of crucifixion, a sense of agonizing annihilation, a sense of the bitter nothingness of all the empirical existence which is subject to the law of change, of death: *marañāntam hi jīvitam*. We cry from the depths of unyielding despair: *mṛtyor mā amṛtam gamaya*. Who shall save me from the body of this death? If death is not all, if nothingness is not all, there is something which survives death, though it cannot be described. The 'I' is the unconditioned, something which has nothing to do with the body, feeling, perception, formations, thought, which are all impermanent, changeable, non-substantial. When the individual knows that what is impermanent is painful, he becomes detached from them and becomes free. The indispensable prerequisite of this is a higher consciousness of an 'I' or something like it: *attena vā attanīyena*.¹ This 'I' is the primordial essential self, the unconditioned, whose realization gives us liberty and power. The self is not body, feeling, consciousness, etc. But from this it does not follow that there is no self at all. The ego is not the only content of the self though it is the only content that can be known objectively. There is another side to our self which helps us to attain nirvāṇa. When the Buddha asks us to be diligent, to strive for salvation, he is referring to the inward principle which is not swept away by the current of events, which is not controlled by outward circumstances, which protects itself from the usurpations of society, which does not submit to human opinion but jealously guards its rights. The enlightened is free, having broken all bonds. The ascetic is one who has gained mastery over himself, "who has his heart in his power, and is not himself

1. Majjhima-nikāya, XXIX.



in the power of his heart".¹ The Buddha when he attained nirvana is far from being dissolved into non-being. It is not he that becomes extinct but the passions and desires. He is no longer conditioned by the erroneous notions and selfish desires that normally go on shaping individuals. The Buddha realizes himself to be free from the characteristics that constitute an individual subject. He has vanished from the sphere of dualities. "Whatever thought he desires, that thought will he think, whatever thought he does not desire, that thought will he not think."² The Buddha taught us to pursue prajna and practise compassion, karuṇā. We will be judged not by the creeds we profess or the labels we wear or the slogans we shout but by our sacrificial work and brotherly outlook. Man, weak as he is, subject to old age, sickness and death, in his ignorance and pride condemns the sick, the aged and the dead. If any one looks with disgust on any fellow being who is sick or old or dead, he would be unjust to himself. We must not find fault with the man who limps or stumbles along the road for we do not know the shoes he wears or the burdens he bears.³ If we learn what pain is, we become the brothers of all who suffer.

IV

Buddhism did not start as a new and independent religion. It was an offshoot of the more ancient faith of the Hindus, perhaps a schism or a heresy. While the Buddha agreed with the faith he inherited on the fundamentals of metaphysics and ethics, he protested against certain practices which were in vogue at the time. He refused to acquiesce in the Vedic ceremonialism. When he was asked to perform some of these rites, he said, "And as for your

1. Majjhima-nikāya, XXXII.

2. Aṅguttara IV, 35; Majjhima, XX.

3. Cf. *rudrākṣam tulasī-kāṣṭham, tripuṇḍram bhasma-dhāraṇam
yātrāḥ snānāni homāś 'ca japāḥ vā devedarśanam
na ete punanti manujam yathā bhūta-hūte-ratiḥ*



saying that for the sake of Dharma I should carry out the sacrificial ceremonies which are customary in my family and which bring the desired fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices; for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of others' suffering."¹

It is true that the Upaniṣads also subordinate the sacrificial piety to the spiritual religion which they formulate, but they did not attack it in the way in which the Buddha did. The Buddha's main object was to bring about a reformation in religious practices and a return to the basic principles. All those who adhere to the essential framework of the Hindu religion and attempt to bring it into conformity with the voice of awakened conscience are treated as avatāras. It is an accepted view of the Hindus that the Supreme as Viṣṇu assumed different forms to accomplish different purposes for the good of mankind. The Buddha was accepted as an avatāra who reclaimed Hindus from sanguinary rites and erroneous practices and purified their religion of the numerous abuses which had crept into it. This avatāra doctrine helps us to retain the faith of the ancestors while effecting reforms in it. Our Purāṇas describe the Buddha as the ninth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

In Jayadeva's *aṣṭapadī* (of the *Gītagovinda*) he refers to the different avatāras and mentions the Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, and gives the following account:

O you of merciful heart denounced the Veda
where the slaughter of cattle is taught, O Keśava,
you, in the form of the Buddha, victory to you, Hari,
lord of the world.

*nindasi yajnavidher ahaha śrutijātam
sadaya-hṛdaya, darśita paśughātam
keśava-dhṛta buddhaśarīra jaya jagadīśa hare²*

1. Buddhacarita, XI, 64.

*yadāttha cāpiṣṭaphalāṃ kulocitāṃ kuruṣva dharmāya mahakriyāṃ iti
namo makhebhya na hi kāmāye sukham parasya duḥkha-kriyayāyad
iṣyate*

2. I, 9.



The commentator writes :

*yajnasya-vidhāna-bodhakam veda samūham
nindasi, na tu sarvam ity arthaḥ*

The Buddha does not condemn the whole Śruti but only that part of it which enjoins sacrifices.

Jayadeva sums up the ten avatāras in the next verse :

Who upheld the Vedas, supported the universe,
bore up the world, destroyed the demons, deceived
Bali, broke the force of the Kṣatriyas,
conquered Rāvaṇa, made the plough, spread mercy,
prevailed over aliens, homage, O Kṛṣṇa
who took the ten forms.

*vedān uddharate, jagan niyahate, bhūgolam
udbibhrate,
daityān dārayate, balim chalayate, kṣatrahṣayam
kurvate,
paulastyam jayate, haḥ kalayate, kārūṇyam
ātanvate,
mlecchān mūrccayate daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya
tubhyam namaḥ
kārūṇyam kṛpām ātanvate buddha-rūpeṇa
vistārayate*

The Buddha utilized the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expressions. He came to fulfil, not to destroy. For us, in this country, the Buddha is an outstanding representative of our religious tradition. He left his footprints on the soil of India and his mark on the soul of the country with its habits and convictions. While the teaching of the Buddha assumed distinctive forms in the other countries of the world in conformity with their own traditions, here, in the home of the Buddha, it has entered into and become an



integral part of our culture. The Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas were treated alike by the Buddha and the two traditions gradually blended. In a sense the Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism.

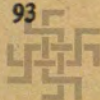
Occasionally humanity after an infinite number of gropings, creates itself, realizes the purposes of its existence in one great character and then again loses itself in the all too slow process of dissolution. The Buddha aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices, intent on working out his own future, with one's self as one's light, *attadīpa*. His humanism crossed racial and national barriers. Yet the chaotic condition of world affairs reflects the chaos in men's souls. History has become universal in spirit. Its subject matter is neither Europe nor Asia, neither East nor West, but humanity in all lands and ages. In spite of political divisions, the world is one, whether we like it or not. The fortunes of everyone are linked up with those of others. But we are suffering from an exhaustion of spirit, an increase of egoism, individual and collective, which seem to make the ideal of a world society too difficult to desire. What we need today is a spiritual view of the universe for which this country, in spite of all its blunders and follies, has stood, which may blow through life again, bursting the doors and flinging open the shutters of man's life. We must recover the lost ideal of spiritual freedom: *ātma-lābhān na paraṃ vidyate*. If we wish to achieve peace we must maintain that inner harmony, that poise of the soul, which are the essential elements of peace. We must possess ourselves though all else be lost. The free spirit sets no bounds to its love, recognizes in all human beings a spark of the divine, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind. It casts off all fear except that of wrong doing, passes the bounds of time and death and finds inexhaustible power in life eternal.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN



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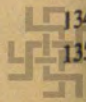
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CHAPTER I

India and Buddhism

People from other countries are often intrigued by the phenomenon that, originating in India, Buddhism should, except for a few remnants in Bengal, Assam or Orissa, have given place to Hinduism, which is now the dominant religion of the country. This is particularly strange in view of the fact that Buddhism, as a humanist force, profoundly affected religious and moral ideas in its time, and acted as a powerful catalytic factor in transforming existing social conditions.

Buddhism is a religion of kindness, humanity and equality. While the religion of the Vedas allowed animal sacrifice to propitiate the gods, Buddhism set its face against such sacrifices; on the contrary, it waged a merciless campaign against this practice. The complicated nature of the sacrificial ritual required the services of brāhmaṇas, who had specialized in that lore. The Brāhmaṇa therefore came to hold a unique position in the social structure of the Indo-Aryans. Even the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya, who as *dvijas* (twice-born) enjoyed certain privileges in common with the brāhmaṇa, could not take as prominent a part as the brāhmaṇa in the performance of the sacrifice. The Sūdra on the other hand was assigned menial tasks such as chopping wood and cutting grass for the sacrifices, and dragging to the sacrificial ground dumb animals, like cows, bullocks and rams, with tears trickling down their faces as described in the Buddhist texts such as the Kūṭadanta-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya.

The śramaṇas who lived a life of retirement in the forests and gave themselves up to philosophical speculation did not



sympathize with sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals. Public opinion was thus being gradually formed against such sacrifices and clear indications of this change in public opinion can be found in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Śāntiparva¹ refers to two sides of the controversy, in which the hermits pleaded for sacrificial offerings of corn or grain, while the gods favoured offerings of living animals. In chapter 254 of the same *parvan*, there is a dialogue between Tulādhāra and Jājali where animal sacrifice is condemned and the practice of eating meat at such sacrifices is attributed to interested rogues. In another place in the same *parvan* (257,6), it is claimed that *ahiṃsā* is the highest principle. The Bhāgavata Punāṇa (1,8,52) says that the killing of animals is not to be condoned because it forms part of a sacrifice. Indeed, the brāhmaṇas had subsequently to modify their position and substitute for live animals images made of corn-flour (*piṣṭa-paśu*). Clearly, Buddhism scored a victory in this matter.

In this connection, it may legitimately be asked how the Buddha preached the principle of *ahiṃsā* and kindness to living animals, if he himself could eat meat and allow his followers to do so. The explanation is simple. In a society where meat was commonly used in daily food, he and his followers had to depend upon public alms; so that if they had refused to eat meat, they would probably have starved to death. As a practical man, the Buddha had to avoid extremes. Here also he followed the Middle Path. He only imposed three restrictions, namely, if any monk either saw or heard or even suspected that an animal had been killed specially for him, then he was not to accept the meat.

Another special feature was that Buddhism denounced all claims to superiority on the ground of birth as the brāhmaṇas claimed. It denounced all social distinctions between man and man, and declared that it was karma, the actions of man, that determined the eminence or lowness of an individual. In Buddhist literature, there are a number

1. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute ed., 324, 10.



of sūtras where the Buddha (or his disciple) is represented as holding a discussion with renowned brāhmaṇas and ultimately bringing them round to his own way of thinking. Assalāyana-sutta¹ and Vajrasūcī, for instance, illustrate the Buddhist point of view. In this campaign also, Buddhism achieved success. The position of the Buddhists in this respect is appreciated and accepted in the Mahābhārata² and Bhāgavata³. The insistence on the equality of social status based on one's actions and not on birth is an integral part of the literature of mediaeval saints like Rāmānanda, Caitanya, Kabir, Ekanāth and others (14th—17th century A.D.). The followers of the Buddha did not all belong to the higher classes, but also included the lower classes, such as barbers, sweepers or cāṇḍālas. Among the mediaeval saints, too, Tukārām was a śūdra, Rohidās a cobbler, and Sena a barber. Similarly, some sects like the Lingāyats, the Mahānubhavas and Rāmānandīs observe no class distinction.

Another feature of great sociological significance in Buddhism was the fact that it threw open the doors of organized religious life to women and men alike. It is said that the Buddha was at first unwilling to admit women into the religious organization of the Saṅgha. However, when Ānanda approached him on behalf of Mahāpajāpatī Gautamī, he finally agreed, though not without misgivings about the ultimate result of such a step. At the same time, he laid down certain conditions which seem to imply the subservience of women to men. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that he should not be judged by the standards of the 20th century. In his day, this was a great step forward, and in religious life women enjoyed the same right of access to the highest position, that of Arhatship, for instance, as it was recognized that women could also be as learned and wise as men. In this connection, the names of distinguished nuns like Khemā, Paṭācārā and Dhammadinnā may be mentioned.

1. Majjhima, No. 93.

2. Udyoga-parva, 43, 27-29.

3. See 7,11,35 and 9,2,23.



Outside the Saṅgha, women like Sujātā, Viśākhā and Sāmāvatī all achieved positions of eminence in different spheres.¹ Even courtesans like Āmrapālī were not denied opportunities to embrace the religious life. In the Therī-gāthā also women like Uppalavaṇṇā, Subhā, Kisā, Gautamī and Somā are referred to as having renounced the world out of unhappiness with life in general. They accepted a life of devotion in order to overcome mundane suffering and it is said that they made the best use of the opportunities religion offered.

The institution of a band of disciplined, selfless workers was at the very foundation of the Buddhist organization. The Buddha's injunction to these workers was always to go from place to place, preaching his teachings throughout the year except during the rainy season. He asked them to have compassion on the people and to work for their happiness. One of his important instructions was, as he said, "Let not two of you go in one and the same direction" (*Mā ekena dve agamittha*). Herein lies the secret of success of the Buddhist missionary activity. This practice naturally inspired the Buddhist missionaries to create new spheres of activity for each group.

It is worth noting that the popularity of the Buddha and his religion largely depended upon his method of approach to the masses. The Buddha had asked his disciples to preach his doctrine in the people's own speech (*sakāya niruttiyū*). The people were naturally impressed. This appeal in a local dialect struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the people, and they listened to the message of the Buddha, particularly as it came to them through a band of selfless preachers who had travelled long distances.

Though Gautama Buddha belonged to an aristocratic family, his life and work were those of a democrat. He served the interests of the masses and was concerned with their happiness. He travelled widely for forty-five years, preaching to them. To carry out his life's mission, he founded the Saṅgha, the Order of the Buddhist fraternity of

1. Aṅguttara, Etadagga-vagga.



monks and nuns. No wonder that the constitution and working of this organization was on democratic lines. Every one who was ordained as a Buddhist monk could be a member of the Saṅgha in a particular locality and all official business in a formal meeting of the Saṅgha was transacted according to democratic principles. Every member had a vote and the decision of the Saṅgha was taken by a vote of the majority. When a complicated question came up before the Saṅgha, it was referred to a select committee, whose recommendation had to be placed before the Saṅgha for ratification. If a member of the Saṅgha was absent on account of illness, his vote was recorded by bringing him, sometimes carrying him, to the meeting place to cast his vote. All members of the Saṅgha in a parish were required to be present at a formal meeting of the Saṅgha. Questions about fixing the days of the Uposatha (day of fast), or the beginning of the Vassāvāsa (retreat in the rainy season) were settled by the majority, and the minority had to submit to its decision, unless, of course, it was a question of fundamental principles necessitating the convening of a synod or religious council. The leader of the Saṅgha was generally elected from among the theras or senior monks and he was respected by all. As Buddhist monks had no private or personal property of their own, all furniture or things in the monastery for the use of the monks, such as cots or water jars, belonged to the whole community or the Saṅgha. No one dared to question the authority of the Saṅgha which had come to be respected as one of the Three Jewels (ratnāni). The Saṅgha, however, was not a close body of people belonging to a particular place, but was open to monks from all the four directions (cātuddisa-saṅgha). In short, no official act of the Saṅgha was valid unless it was decided at a meeting where all members and visiting monks in a parish were either present or could communicate their wishes (chanda).

When it came to voting, marked sticks (śalākās) were used and a responsible officer was appointed to keep watch over the voting. As monastic establishments developed, the



Saṅgha began to appoint office-bearers to supervise new constructions, to look after property, the distribution of clothing, the allotment of dwelling places, the acceptance of property as a gift to the Saṅgha, and the like. All these officers were appointed after due election at a meeting of the Saṅgha, where the proposal was announced three times, and if there was no dissenting voice it was declared carried.

During his lifetime, the Buddha allowed things to be decided democratically by the Saṅgha; and after his death, too, he did not want to restrict the freedom of the Saṅgha by appointing his own successor. He wanted the Dhamma and Vinaya to be its guides after his death and anything which was not authorized by the Dhamma and Vinaya was to be rejected by the Saṅgha.

In running its affairs, the Saṅgha no doubt drew its inspiration from small oligarchies (gaṇarājya) like those of the Vajjis or Licchavis of Vaisali¹ and of the Mallas of Pāvā or Kusinārā.² At one time the Śākya also enjoyed a similar form of government, but they seem to have lost it long before. The Buddha showed great admiration for the Vajjis or Licchavis when, in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, he likened the Licchavis to the thirty-three gods (Tāvatiṃsā). He also warned Ajātaśatru's Minister, Vassakāra, saying that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules governing their conduct (satta aparihāniyā dhamma), namely, (i) daily meetings for consultation; (ii) unity in action; (iii) adherence to old injunctions; (iv) respect for elders; (v) respect for women who were never to be molested; (vi) reverence for places of worship within or without their territory; and (vii) protection to worthy saints (Arhats) in their territory.

The liberal attitude shown by the Buddhists in throwing the doors wide open to all who wished to participate in religious life seems to have found general acceptance as the

1. Pron. Vaisālī.

2. M. i, 231 (Sutta, No. 35): *Imesaṃ Saṅghānaṃ gaṇānaṃ seyyathidaṃ Vajjinaṃ, Mallānaṃ, etc.*



Gītā indicates.¹ The worship of the images of deities became a common feature of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious practice. There was nothing in the practical life of a follower of the Buddha to which a non-Buddhist could take exception.

Thus, many aspects of the Buddhist religion came to be accepted by others and gradually no distinction remained. In the course of time, Buddhism was absorbed by the reformed religion of Hinduism.

This, however, is not all. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, perhaps under the influence of non-Aryan or aboriginal popular cults in the lower strata of society, came to assume a darker and debased form of Tantrism. This might have resulted from a misunderstanding of the symbolic language of the esoteric texts of the Tāntric school. Magic and sorcery and secret rites and rituals introduced into later Buddhism, particularly in respect of the female deities, no doubt, alienated the people. It was therefore not surprising that people were antagonized by some of the corrupt practices of the Tāntrics. This unhealthy development, too, must have contributed considerably to the decline of Buddhism. This form of Buddhism was in the ascendant and was studied at the Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramaśīlā until the end of the 12th century A.D. when the invasion of Bakhtyar Khilji swept everything, Hindu and Buddhist, before it.

The beginning of the 13th century brought evil days both for Buddhism and Hinduism. For the former, however, the blow proved to be more severe. The monasteries of Bihar were despoiled and many of the monks fled to Nepal and Tibet. The lay Buddhists were left without any religious guidance, which made it easier for them to be absorbed in the non-Buddhist community as there was little distinction left between the lives led by the Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Nevertheless, a few isolated groups of Buddhists remained in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and parts of South India. An ins-

1. *Sirīṣo vaiśyās tathā śūdrās te pi yanti parāṃ gatim*, Bhag. Gītā, 9, 13.



cription¹ recently discovered in Korea tells us of an Indian monk called Dhyānabhadra who visited Kāñcīpura where he listened to a discourse on an Avataṃsaka-sūtra in the 14th century A.D. There followed a long interregnum in the history of Buddhism until in the latter half of the 19th century the attention of European scholars was drawn to the study of the Buddha and his religion.

The reader will find in the following pages the story of Buddhism not only in India (II—IV) but in other countries of the East—its expansion (V), its ramifications into different schools and sects (VI), its literature, particularly the literature bearing on the life of the Buddha, his teachings and his disciplinary code (VII). Chapters have also been devoted to the discussion of Buddhist ideas on education (VIII), some great men among the Buddhists, both rulers and writers (IX), the prevailing state of Buddhism as revealed by the records of the Chinese pilgrims who came to India in the period between the fifth and the seventh centuries A.D. (X), Buddhist art in India and abroad (XI), places of Buddhist interest in India (XII), and later modifications in Buddhism which paved the way for its absorption into Hinduism (XIII). The reader will undoubtedly be interested in the revival of Buddhist studies, both in the East and the West, and the eminent scholars who were responsible for it (XIV). Nor can he forget the work of the Mahabodhi Society to the same end, nor remain blind to the cultural and political implications of this revival of the spirit of the Buddha and his teachings in the cause of peace in the world. India has taken a firm stand in the cause of world peace and this, it must be conceded, is in no small measure due to the resolve of her leaders to follow the spirit of the Buddha which was reawakened in Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation.

1. See Arthur Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India' (*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*), Vol. 1 (1931-32), pp. 354-376.



CHAPTER II

Origin of Buddhism

CULT OF SACRIFICE

The cult of sacrifice which developed out of the prayers in the Vedic Saṃhitās had a powerful hold on the minds of the early Aryans in India. The elaborate rituals of the cult, and the inevitable discussions which took place during its performance, a long affair, to keep the participants busy, are said to be responsible for doctrines which challenged the very existence of the cult. The discussions were undoubtedly valuable in settling knotty points connected with the ritual, but some of these, at any rate, seem to have done more harm than good. According to a passage in the Muṇḍaka¹ the cult of sacrifice, although looked upon as a ship to take one across to the other shores of existence, to the heavenly worlds, was itself shaky and unsafe. In another passage² it is said that the merit accruing from its performance is of short duration. It was thus calculated not to lead to eternal peace, but to a life of perpetual flux.

Vedic literature is replete with references to many problems unconnected with the present life, or to problems relating to the origin of the world, its constituents, the next world, and imaginary happiness as contrasted with the misery of the present life. The foundations of Indian philosophy are thus to be sought in these free discussions, particularly those on the famous Nāsadīya-sūkta, now incorporated in the tenth and concluding book of the R̥gveda.

1. *Plavā hy ete adṛḍhā Yajñarūpāḥ* (Muṇḍaka, 1,2,7).

2. *Tad yath eha karmacito lokaḥ kṣīyate
evam amuṣmin puṇyacito lokaḥ kṣīyate*



The discussions at the long sacrificial sessions were primarily concerned with the performance of the ritual; but obviously they could not be confined to this alone. If the performance of the sacrifice could give everlasting results, the question of thinking on different problems would not have arisen; but when these results were efficacious only for a short time, man's mind naturally turned to things eternal.

The problems discussed by the early thinkers mainly concerned the origin of the world or universe, and to its constituents. Life is short, and a sacrificial performance could bring only temporary happiness, they agreed. It could not mean eternal joy; on the contrary, it may sometimes be a source of much unhappiness. If that was so, it was necessary to discover the source of eternal peace, but could eternal peace be achieved through the life a sacrificer leads? If not, should not an alternative be sought? This was the next question. The balance was in favour of a new mode of life, the life of renunciation as opposed to the life of plenty led by a householder. Subsequently, the system of āśramas or the four stages of life was evolved, and the last two, those of vānaprastha and sannyāsa, gave opportunities for speculation on the problems of ultimate reality and absolute happiness.

Clearly, ascetic life was open not only to the Brāhmaṇa but also to the other cultivated classes of the age. At any rate, it was open to the Kṣatriyas, the warrior class, as is evident from the special place the royal sage, Janaka, occupies in the field of philosophical speculation. Kṣatriya sages were often responsible for the instruction of the Brāhmaṇas in some secret lore in which they were proficient.

Although Vedic literature records the names of some thinkers belonging to the ascetic cult, there must have been others outside this narrow group. It is not easy to ascertain whether there were non-Aryan elements within its fold; but there is no ground for disbelieving that the non-Aryans, too, influenced the Aryan mind. For instance, according to some, thinkers like Gosāla represented ideas which were peculiar



to non-Aryan culture.

Turning to non-Vedic literature, one comes across terms like śramaṇa as opposed to brāhmaṇa. Some five types of śramaṇas including the Nigaṇṭha (Jaina) and the Ājīva (Ājīvika) are mentioned. It is likely that some of them were brought up on Brahmanic lore, but later broke away from it. The literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas frequently refers to these sects. It is clear, however, that these śramaṇas inherited several ideas from, and were often inspired by, Vedic literature.

The tenets of these different wandering sects can be traced back to Vedic literature, particularly the literature of the Upaniṣads. In fact, the quest for the final or ultimate cause goes back to the famous Nāsadīya-sūkta of the Ṛgveda¹; the idea of some higher and happier world is to be found in the Viṣṇu-sūkta²; the concept of the transmigration of souls, that of the mortals returning to this world, is as old as the Yama-sūkta³ or the Hymn to the Fathers. The inherent misery of the world and the notion of immortality, which was not attainable by worldly possessions, have been frequently mentioned in the Upaniṣads. Speculations on the ultimate cause of the universe are frequently met with in Upaniṣadic literature.

The doctrine of the Chain of Causation as conceived by the Buddha was obviously the result of these speculations. Indeed, even the highly developed doctrine of the Mādhyamika school that the highest truth lies beyond the four extreme views, catuṣkoṭivinirmukta, is represented in almost identical terms in the last paragraph of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.⁴ It stands to reason that philosophical ideas and doctrines do not spring up unexpectedly, but grow out of old ideas. Oldenberg has developed this theme in his *Philosophie der Upanisaden und Anfänge der Buddhismus*.

1. X, 129.

2. Ṛgveda, I, 54.

3. Ṛgveda, X, 14ff.

4. *Nāntaḥ-prajñam na bahiḥ-prajñam abhyataḥ-prajñam...nāprajñam*



There is, however, no definite indication in pre-Buddhistic literature of the well-known and important principle of anātmavāda or the doctrine of no-soul. There are vague references in the Upaniṣads, particularly the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, that the body consists of four or five elements, that at death it dissolves back into these elements, and that no element of consciousness (saṃjñā) remains after death. This doctrine, however, cannot rightly be said to be the source of the Buddhist doctrine of anātma (or anattā); the most that can be claimed is that it is at the root of the notions that all worldly objects are transitory and that there is no transmigration. The admission that various elements constitute a body which ultimately dissolves into those very elements may indicate that the so-called consciousness or saṃjñā is unsubstantial as nothing of it is left after death.

There is little information on the non-Vedic ascetic sects, but some can be found in such works as the Sūyagaḍa, the Second Book of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon in Prakrit, and in scattered Buddhist sūtras like the Sāmaññaphala-sutta in the Dīgha-nikāya in Pali, and its Sanskrit counterpart in the Gilgit MSS. These sects naturally glorify the teachings of their own prophets, and condemn those of their opponents. None the less some reliable information can be had from these sources.

It may be useful to consider a few names of the ascetic sects and the light they throw on their external characteristics. In Brahmanical literature the names, Parivrājaka, also called Maskarin, Tāpasa and Muṇḍaka occur. Parivrājaka literally means one who goes round and has no permanent domicile. From a study of the rules of discipline, it appears that these ascetics did not generally stay long at one place, except perhaps during the rains; they were expected to wander from place to place, and to have no fixed residence. Some of them carried a bamboo staff, called *maskara*. These two features were probably common to many sects, but they must have been a special characteristic of a particular group of ascetics. The name Tāpasa, for instance, suggests a code of discipline



based on tapas, or self-mortification in various forms, such as fasting, living on water and coarse food, subsisting on a particular diet, or restricting one's movements to a particular region, preferably the northern or southern bank of sacred rivers like the Ganga. It is interesting to note that a sect and an Upaniṣadic text bear the same name, Muṇḍaka. A special feature of this sect was that its members shaved their heads. The shaving of the head instead of wearing long hair seems to have been common to both Vedic and non-Vedic sects as appears from a reference in the Suttanipāta¹. There were some sects which bore names to correspond with the mode of their dress. Some used white garments (śvetāmbara), some coloured (geruya), while others went naked. The material of the garment also seems to have been a distinguishing feature as the term keśakambalin applied to Ajita indicates. The members of each particular sect, no doubt, followed the practice of their respective teachers.

An analysis of the doctrinal or philosophical tenets of the non-Vedic sects shows that the number of such teachers or thinkers and their schools was very large. The Jaina sūtras mention as many as 363, while according to the Buddhist sūtras the number is 62 or 63. The Jains group their 363 schools broadly into four, namely, the Kriyāvāda², the Akriyāvāda, the Ajñānavāda³ and the Vinayavāda, Mahāvīra being shown as the champion of Kriyāvāda. The principal tenets of the Kriyāvāda school are that misery is the result of

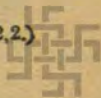
1. Muṇḍā pi idhekacce Brāhmaṇā bhavanti (Sutta, No. 30).

2. To evaṃ akkhanti samicca loḇaṃ taḥāgayā samaṇā māhāṇā ya
Sayamkaḍaṃ nānnakaḍaṃ ca dukkham āhaṃsu vijjācaraṇaṃ pamokkhaṃ
(Sūya, 1,12,11.)

Attāṇa jo jāṇai jo ya loḇaṃ gaṇi ca jo jāṇai nūgaṇi ca jo sāsayaṃ
jāṇa asāsayaṇ ca jāṇi ca maraṇaṇ ca jaṇovavāyaṃ
Aho vi sattāṇa viutṭhaṇaṇ ca jo āsalaṃ jāṇai saṃvaraṇ ca dukkhaṇ ca
jo jāṇai nijjaraṇ ca so bhāsium arahai kiriyaṇvāyaṃ
(Sūya, 1,12,20-21.)

3. Annāsiyā te kusalā vi santā asanthuyā no vitigiccha-tiṇṇā
Akoviya āhu akoviyeḥi aṇāṇuvittu musā vayanāti

(Sūya, 1,12,2.)

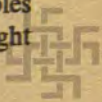


one's own acts, and is not caused by anything else, that release from *saṃsāra* can be secured by knowledge of the highest truth and by good conduct. The doctrine admits the existence of soul or self, this world and the next, the eternal and non-eternal elements in the constituents of the physical world, birth, death, heavens and hells; and holds that there are causes of misery which can be controlled. According to Jaina sources, Ajita Keśakambalin is the champion of the Akriyāvāda which roughly corresponds to the Lokāyatika or the Cārvāka school. According to this school, there is no sin in killing, and there is nothing wrong in enjoying the pleasures of the world. The champion of Ajñānavāda may be Sañjaya whom the Buddhists called Vikṣepavādin, or one who did not adhere to any view categorically. No specific mention of any teacher who believed in the doctrine of Vinayavāda is found in Jaina sources, possibly because there were too many to be named. Buddhist sources condemn the doctrine of Vinaya which they seem to have called Silabbataparāmāsa, the doctrine of liberation through monastic vows and conduct. Buddhists also point to the dangers of this doctrine, namely, that it might lead either to pleasure-seeking, or to rigidity in religious exercises. They also refer to many unanswerable and unanswered problems. Even if these are discussed or settled, one is no nearer the truth; on the contrary, the danger of going astray cannot altogether be ruled out. Sañjaya seemed to have avoided answering these questions out of fear or ignorance, while the Jainas answered them boldly by their doctrine of many possibilities or Anekānta.

There are frequent references in Buddhist literature to some six senior contemporaries of the Buddha, for instance, in the Dīgha-nikāya (the Sāmaññaphala-sutta and its counterpart in Sanskrit). It appears from the context of these references that Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, met a number of these teachers and asked them each separately to state in clear and unambiguous terms the result of their ascetic practices. All of them were well known in the country as founders of religious schools with a large following. Their names

and the special doctrines they held are briefly stated in the text. It is possible, however, that the information supplied is prejudiced as it emanates from their opponents; in fact, the misstatements they make are partly due to design and partly to ignorance. All the same, it is interesting to study their views in order to understand correctly as well as to appreciate the views of the founder of Buddhism.

Of these six thinkers, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, who is no other than Mahāvīra, the founder, or, according to the Jaina tradition, the last prophet of the present world cycle, seems to have been slightly older than the Buddha. He preached ethical doctrines without apparently knowing that similar ideas had been held by an incomparably senior ascetic, Pārśva. The latter is now acknowledged to be Mahāvīra's predecessor and is believed to have lived 250 years before Mahāvīra. Pārśva's ethical code consisted of four rules, whereas that of Mahāvīra consisted of five. Of these, the first three, viz., not to kill living things, not to take articles of use unless they are given, and not to tell a lie, are common to the schools of both Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The fourth rule in Pārśva's teaching, that of aparigraha, not to have any worldly possessions including a wife, was split up into two by Mahāvīra to make up his code of five. Not to take a wife or to lead a celibate life, which is the fourth rule in Mahāvīra's code, and not to have worldly possessions except clothes, which is the fifth rule in Mahāvīra's code, seem to constitute jointly the fourth rule of Pārśva. The main difference in the practical or external aspects of Pārśva's and Mahāvīra's code of conduct thus seems to have been that while Pārśva and his followers were acelakas or naked, Mahāvīra and his followers wore white garments, but refused to have any other paraphernalia. In other words, the Jaina faith as preached by Mahāvīra is the same as Pārśva's, but somewhat more modern. It was natural therefore that these two schools should have become one as they actually did some 250 years after the death of Pārśva, when the disciples of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra met at Śrāvastī and brought



about the Union'. Later, the Jainas explained this fusion of schools differently by adding twenty-two prophets to precede Pārśva, thereby making Pārśva the twenty-third and Mahāvīra the twenty-fourth of their prophets. It would, however, be quite correct to hold that Pārśva and Mahāvīra independently evolved a philosophy and a religious system which had identical tenets.

In the Sāmaññaphala-sutta² Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is mentioned as having held the doctrine of fourfold restraint: restraint from the use of cold water as it contains life, and from sinful activities such as killing and sexual intercourse.³ He was free from all sins and had purified himself. In the Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta⁴ the restraints ascribed to him are different, but identical with the four vows of Pārśva.

According to Jaina sources, however, Jainism is not a purely ethical system, but also a philosophy based on the doctrine of many possibilities, known as Anekānta or Syādvāda. The doctrine looks at two aspects of everything, the eternal and the non-eternal. The soul undergoes migration according to good or bad deeds. As Jainism regards the existence of jīva in everything, it enjoins such behaviour as does not cause injury to any jīva. The soul becomes impure and is engulfed by saṃsāra if it is subjected to the influence of sense objects. In order to keep the soul pure from their contamination, and to secure its release, it is necessary to practise restraint. To achieve this one must resort to or acquire right knowledge, faith and conduct. Buddhist sources, for instance, the Aṅguttara, and the seventy-fourth sutta of the Tīkānipāta, ridicule the Jaina doctrine, particularly its idea of overcoming sin, its restraint on movements and its insistence on certain types of clothing.

1. Cf. Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, 23.

2. § 29.

3. Also cf. *Sīyodaḥaṃ vā taha biyakāyaṃ āhāyakammaṃ taha itthiyāo eyāiṃ jāṇaṃ paṭisevamāṇā agāriṇo assamaṇā bhavanti* (Sūya, 2,6,8.)

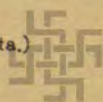
4. Dīgha, No. 23, Para. 16.

The next important contemporary of the Buddha was Makkhali Gosāla. He belonged to the sect of the Acelakas or Naked Ones, and, as the first part of his name indicates, carried a staff of bamboo (maskarin). It is said that he was for some time a disciple of Mahāvīra, but later broke away from him. Afterwards, he probably founded an independent school known as the Ājīvika school. Later writers mention two predecessors, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṃkicca,¹ thus giving this school three prophets. This sect is now extinct, but seems to have enjoyed popularity and even royal patronage. The doctrine advocated by Gosāla is styled saṃsāra-visuddhi or the doctrine of attaining purity only by passing through all kinds of existence. Gosāla did not believe that there was any special cause for either the misery of human beings or for their deliverance. He did not believe in human effort, and held that all creatures were helpless against destiny. He maintained that all creatures, whether wise or foolish, were destined to pass through saṃsāra, and that their misery would come to an end at the completion of the cycle. No human effort would reduce or lengthen this period. Like a ball of thread, saṃsāra had a fixed term, through which every being must pass.

The remaining four teachers, who are mentioned as contemporaries of the Buddha, did not leave their mark on posterity as did Mahāvīra and, to a lesser degree, Gosāla. Of these four, Pūraṇa Kassapa² held the doctrine of Akriyā or non-action. He maintained that a man did not incur sin through actions which were popularly known as bad, e.g., killing, committing theft, taking another man's wife, or telling a lie. Even if a man killed all the creatures on earth and raised a heap of skulls, he incurred no sin. Similarly, he did not earn merit through a good act, or by staying on the

1. Majjhima, Nos. 36 and 76.

2. *Idha chindita-mārite hatajānīsu Kassapo pāpaṃ na samanupassati puññaṃ vā pana attano*
(Saṃyutta, 2nd, 3rd vagga, 10th sutta.)



northern or southern bank of the Ganga; similarly, self-control, gifts, and truthfulness did not earn for him any credit. The doctrine that Kassapa preached resembles the doctrine of the Cārvākas in many respects.

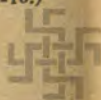
Ajita Keśakambalin was another contemporary of the Buddha. He did not believe in the utility of gifts, in sacrifice, the fruits of good and bad acts, the existence of heavenly worlds or persons possessing higher or supernatural powers. He held that the body consisted of four elements, into which it dissolved after death. He also held that it was useless to talk of the next world; that both the wise and the ignorant die and have no further life after death.¹ His views are similar to those of the Cārvākas, and his doctrine may be styled Uchedavāda.

Pakudha Kaccāyana is probably Kakuda Kātyāyana as mentioned in the Praśnopaniṣad. He and his views are also referred to in the Sūyagaḍa, the Second Book of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon. His doctrine may be called Aśāśvatavāda. According to him, there are seven elements which are immutable, and do not in any way contribute to pleasure or pain. The body is ultimately dissolved into these seven eternal elements.²

The last among these teachers is Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Ajātaśatru calls him the most foolish and the most ignorant of all the teachers he had met. His doctrine is known as Vikṣepavāda, or a doctrine which diverts the mind from the right track. According to the Sāmaññaphala-sutta³, he always declined to give categorical answers to problems

1. *Natthi puñṇe ya pāve vā natthi loye iovare sarīrassa viñāseṇaṃ
viñāso hoi dehiṇo
Patteyaṃ kasiṇe āyā je bālā je ya paṇḍiyā santi piccā na te santi
natthi sattovavāiyā
(Sūya. 1,1,1,11-12.)*
2. *Santi pañca mahabbhūyā ihmegesimāhiyā āyachaṭṭhā puṇo āhu āyā
loge ya sāsue
Duhao na vinassanti no ya uppajjāe asaṃ savre vi savvahā bhārā
niyattibhāvamāgayā
(Sūya. 1,1,1,15-16.)*

3. Para. 32.



facing the human mind. There are ten unexplained and unanswered questions, that have always exercised the mind of man and have frequently been mentioned in Buddhist literature, which Sañjaya never even attempted to answer. It may be noted that these questions were also put to the Buddha on several occasions and he, too, declined to answer them; but his attitude towards them was altogether different. He said that it was useless to waste time on these idle quests as they were not conducive to human progress.

Having taken stock of the trends of philosophical speculations before the coming of the Buddha, it will now be clear why he thought of a new faith which at once caught the imagination of the people and was accepted by millions.

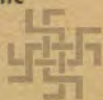
Teachers like Pakudha Kaccāyana and Ajita Keśakambalin advocated a theory of the universe, according to which it was either eternal or non-eternal as represented by their respective formulae: *sabbam atthi* and *sabbam natthi*, or better still, by doctrines known as Śāśvatavāda and Ucchedavāda.

Gosāla thought that the characteristics of all things were predetermined, and that there was no cause or condition which predetermined them, as represented by the formulae: *sabbam pubbekatahetu* and *sabbam ahetu-apaccayā*.

Another view was that happiness and sorrow were due to one's own deeds or that they were due to some other cause, as represented by the formulae: *sukhadukkhaṃ sayamkatam* and *sukhadukkhaṃ-parakatam*.

Yet another belief was that the aims or values of human life were realized by the enjoyment of worldly pleasures, or by self-mortification, as represented by the formulae: *kāmesu-kāma-sukhallikānuyogo* and *attakilamathānuyogo*.

If the history of the philosophical thought currents at the time were surveyed, it would be clear that both Mahāvīra and the Buddha had to face thinkers who held extreme views of the four types mentioned above, and each of them had their own answer to them. Mahāvīra answered the problems in terms of his Anekāntavāda or Syādvāda, while



the Buddha's answer was based on his Paṭicca-samuppāda¹. While Mahāvīra clung to the doctrine of Attakilamatha or self-mortification, as against Kassapa, Ajita, Gosāla and Sañjaya, the Buddha preached the Majjhima-paṭipadā or the Middle Path.

1. *Svayaṃ kṛtaṃ parakṛtaṃ dvābhyāṃ kṛtaṃ ahetukam
tārkikair iṣyate dukkham tvayā t ūktaṃ pratītyajam*

(Lokātītastava, Nāgārjuna.)



CHAPTER III

Life and Teachings

It was the seventh century before the Christian era. The civilized part of India was divided into sixteen realms, eight of which were kingdoms and the remaining republics. Among the kingdoms the most powerful were Magadha and Kośala. The little Śākya republic, in modern Nepal, was ruled by the king of Kośala who received tribute from the former. The Śākyas were of the Kṣatriya solar race and called themselves rājās. In the middle of the century, their chief was Śuddhodana who had his capital at Kapilavastu.

In the year 623 B.C. his queen, Mahāmāyā, was travelling in state from Kapilavastu to Devadaha, her parents' home, to have her first child. On her way, the queen gave birth to a divine son in her tent in the Lumbinī grove between two tall sal¹ trees, then in their full spring blossom. A monument at the birth-place of the Buddha, erected by Emperor Aśoka 250 years after the event, still stands witness to its historical character.

An old sage named Asita visited king Śuddhodana's palace and expressed a desire to see the new-born child. On seeing the marks of greatness on its delicate limbs, Asita laughed and shed tears of sorrow. He laughed, he said, owing to his joy that a saviour had come to the earth for the salvation of the people and shed tears because he would not have the good fortune to live long enough to see the achievements of the child. The child was called Gautama and nicknamed Siddhārtha, or one whose purpose has been fulfilled.

1. Pron. sāl.



While the Śākyaas were celebrating the birth of a prince, Queen Mahamāyā passed away seven days after the birth of her child. Gautama was then mothered by his mother's sister, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, who was also his stepmother. The child preferred solitude and thoughtfulness to the frolics and pranks natural to his age. His father observed his spiritual inclinations and tried his best to protect the young prince from worldly suffering. When he grew into a young man he was married to Yaśodharā, a beautiful girl of the same clan. He was given three palaces to suit the three seasons. Dancing and singing girls entertained him and he was taken round in a chariot through the capital.

But human efforts are often balked by destiny. The tender-hearted prince saw a decrepit old man; then a withered person affected with an ugly disease, followed by a dead body being carried to the cremation ground by weeping friends. Lastly, on the same day he saw an upright ascetic walking majestically along the road. He loathed the first three sights but took a deep interest in the ascetic. These sights made him ponder over the miseries of existence and also on a way of escaping from them.

The marriage of Prince Gautama and Princess Yaśodharā had lately been blessed by the birth of a son. No sooner did Gautama receive the tidings of his son's birth than he exclaimed that an obstacle (rāhula) had been born to his cherished dream of an ascetic life. It was regarded as a good sign by the King who ordered that the baby be named Rāhula. He did not, however, actually prove to be an obstacle, for Gautama thought it better to relinquish his worldly career before attachments grew stronger and to adopt the course of a wanderer in quest of Truth. Thus did he reason while the dancing girls tried in vain to divert him with their art. After midnight the girls fell asleep exposing their ugliness which had been hidden by their clothes when they were awake. Annoyed at the sight, Gautama left the hall and entered his wife's chamber.

Yaśodharā was also fast asleep with the baby in her

arms. An oil lamp cast a 'dim religious light', and smoke rose from the incense burner under the bed. He tore himself away and, unknown to anybody, rode away towards a forest. He discarded his royal robes, cut his long hair with his sword and became an ascetic.

First he went to a teacher named Āḍāra Kālāma and then to another named Udraka Rāmaputra. He imbibed all that they had to teach him, but as his thirst for Truth remained unquenched he moved on and ultimately reached a picturesque land, near modern Bodh Gaya¹, which was surrounded by luxuriant woods through which ran a gentle stream with banks of silver sand.

In accordance with the belief that the mind became elevated by emaciating the body, Gautama resorted to different kinds of self-torture. However, a little experience taught him that physical torture alone did not lead to an elevation of the mind. Thereafter he began to eat and sleep, although in moderation. At the end of six years of penance, when he was thirty-six years old, he felt that in the course of the day he would become a Buddha, an awakened one, by attaining bodhi, or supreme knowledge. At noon he was offered a bowl of milk pudding by Sujātā, a rich merchant's daughter, who was devoted to him and in the evening a grass-cutter gave him bundles of dry grass on which to sleep. He regarded these as good omens and, sitting firmly under a pipal tree on a cushion made of grass, he said, "Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my life-blood dry up, I will not leave this posture until I have perfect attainment."

His resolute attempt set Māra, the god of evil, thinking that he should not allow Gautama to escape from his thralldom. He caused a violent thunderstorm to frighten the Bodhisattva that Gautama then was, but in vain! All the missiles hurled by Māra at his victim turned into flowers. Māra tried to tempt him with promises of rebirths in heaven but the Bodhisattva, or the one destined to achieve enlighten-

1. Pron. Gayā.

2. Mahāniddeśa, p. 476 (PTS).



ment, would not bend. Māra was discomfited in the end and his army fled in all directions. This battle, of course, was a metaphorical conflict between the higher and the lower aspirations in Gautama's mind. During the night Gautama discovered the Law of Causation, a cycle of twelve causes and effects conditioning the universe. This law had not been thought of before by any philosopher. Its authorship raised Gautama from his status of Bodhisattva to that of a Buddha. He exclaimed solemnly:

Truly when things grow plain
To the ardent, meditating brāhmaṇa,
Routing the hosts of Māra does he stand
Like as the sun when lighting up the sky.¹

He spent four weeks in contemplation under the tree, now called the Bodhi, after which he set out on his travels. On the way the daughters of Māra encountered him and tried to seduce him with their charms. The Lord was unmoved and asked them to go away. He said that such attempts might have had success with men who had not subdued the passions but not with him.² Baffled in their attempts the daughters returned to their father. Further on, the newly awakened Buddha met two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who offered him some gruel of barley and honey. These two came to be the first lay disciples of the Buddha, and this was the beginning of the formation of a band of lay disciples.

The Lord then began to have misgivings in his mind. Said he to himself:

This that through many toils I have won,
Enough, why should I make it known?
By folk with lust and hate consumed,
This truth will not be understood.³

1. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 1,7 (Translation by Horner).

2. Nidānakathā, Kosambi's edition, para. 131.

3. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 5,3.



But better counsel prevailed, and he felt that at least a few clear-sighted men would surely understand the new gospel, and renounce their misguided beliefs. His momentary dejection gave way to a keen desire to impart his knowledge to the world. With this new determination he thought of visiting his old teachers but both of them had died a little while ago. Then he thought of going to Banāras¹, which was a centre of learning even in those days, to teach his philosophy to the group of five monks who had once become his disciples and then left him in despair. He approached the deer park of R̥ṣipatana (Sarnath², near Banaras) where the five monks lived, and addressed them on the Middle Path for the first time, thereby setting in motion his *dharmacakra*. An ascetic should avoid the two extremes, addiction to pleasures of the senses, as well as to self-torment, and follow the middle course. After a long discourse the five monks were converted to Gautama's view. Thus were laid the foundations of the Buddha's Saṅgha (Church).

Kāśyapa of Uruvelā, a fireworshipping brāhmaṇa with matted hair, was performing a great sacrifice when the Buddha performed a miracle. The brāhmaṇas could not kindle a fire without the Buddha's permission. When the fire was kindled, there was a great flood. The Buddha, however, saved the sacrificers and Kāśyapa along with his followers joined the Saṅgha. Accompanied by them all, the Buddha went to the hill of Gayāśīrṣa and delivered his famous sermon on Burning. From Gayāśīrṣa he went on to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, to redeem the promise he had made to Bimbisāra, the king, who had presented his bamboo-grove to the Saṅgha for use as a monastery.

Then came the conversion of the foremost pair of the Buddha's brotherhood of monks. In the capital of Magadha lived Saṅjaya, an ascetic, with a large number of pupils including Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The former heard from the lips of Aśvajit, a Buddhist monk, the following verse:

1. Pron. Banāras.

2. Pron. Sārnāth.



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Of those things which spring from cause
 The cause has been told by the Buddha;
 And their suppression likewise
 The great recluse has revealed.¹

As he learnt the full meaning of this verse from Aśvajit, Śāriputra became a disciple of the Buddha, and Maudgalyāyana followed his example. The Saṅgha was enriched by the addition of these intelligent brāhmaṇas, who became the chief disciples of the Master. Their earthly remains are still preserved and worshipped in sacred places.²

A year after the Awakening, Śuddhodana heard of his son's glory and invited him to visit Kapilavastu. The Buddha accordingly came to his parental home. Śuddhodana did homage to his son as he was now a holy man. On the following day, the Buddha made a round of the city for alms. To his wife, Yaśodharā, he looked more glorious in the monk's garb than he had done in his princely apparel. She threw herself at his feet and said to her son, "Dear Rāhula, ask your father for your inheritance." The Buddha conferred on the boy a higher inheritance than worldly pelf by making him a novice, a probationer for monkhood. Hundreds of Śākya rājās doffed their finery and put on yellow robes. Even Upālī, the family barber and keeper of the royal wardrobe, renounced his home and became a follower of the Buddha.

Important additions continued to be made to the congregation of lay disciples. Anāthapiṇḍika³, a rich merchant of Śrāvastī, bought from Prince Jeta a large park for as many gold pieces as would cover the whole ground. There he erected a monastery, Jetavana Vihāra, and made a gift of it to the Saṅgha. Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, Viśākhā, a rich lady, and many eminent people of Kośala became lay

1. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 10, 23.

2. In November 1952, these relics were reinterred in a specially erected stūpa at Sanchi from where they had been taken and deposited in a London museum.

3. Also called Anāthapiṇḍada.

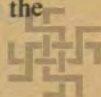


disciples of the Buddha. He then went to Rājagṛha where he fell ill and was treated by the royal physician, Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya, a children's specialist. The patient paid for his bodily cure by effecting the mental cure of the physician who also joined the lay Buddhists.

Three years afterwards a quarrel arose between the Śākya and Koliya about the water of the river separating their territories. Had it not been for Lord Buddha's intervention, the quarrel would have grown into a fierce battle. This event was followed by the death of Śuddhodana and Gautamī, the widowed stepmother of the Buddha, asked her son for admission to the Saṅgha. Ānanda, the personal attendant of the Master, strongly supported her cause. This was the beginning of an Order of nuns in India. Until then women in the country had no right to spiritual salvation through the renunciation of the home.

Years rolled by. The Master and his disciples travelled all over the country combating old superstitions, the old values based on birth, and animal sacrifice, denouncing the spirit of revenge and praising morality, the threefold path of purity and rational thought. The Saṅgha continued to increase in strength. The Master's arguments were persuasive but sometimes he performed miracles to support his claims much to the chagrin of the brāhmaṇas and other sectarians. They tried to traduce the Buddha with the help of a courtesan named Ciñcā. The poor woman suffered heavy punishment for her guilt of incriminating the Buddha. A similar fate awaited Sundarī, who claimed that the Buddha was in love with her.

When the Buddha was 72 years of age, King Bimbisāra of Magadha was murdered by his son Ajātaśatru. The new king was an admirer of Devadatta, a monk of the Saṅgha. These two had designs on the life of the Master and set murderers upon him. Instead of doing him any harm they fell prostrate at his feet. Devadatta hurled a piece of rock at the Master from a height but only a splinter hit him. A last effort was made by letting loose a mad elephant on the



Buddha, but the animal humbly bowed down before the Master. Frustrated in his murderous attempts, Devadatta brought about a schism in the brotherhood and organized a rival Saṅgha. Before he could commit more mischief he died of bleeding from the mouth.

Two years before the passing of the Master, his clan met with a great misfortune. Viḍūḍabha, a son of King Prasenajit of Kośala and of the daughter of one of the Śākya rājās, was on a visit to his mother's family, where he was insulted for his low birth. Enraged, he vowed to take revenge on the Śākyas. Undeterred by the expostulations of the Master, he, after the death of his father, marched against Kapilavastu and put to the sword the whole Śākya clan. Great must have been the distress of the old Master to receive the news of this massacre, in spite of his sermons on Peace. Still he kept moving from place to place, delivering his sermons on morality, peace, universal love and purity. Āmrapālī, the famous courtesan, presented her mango-grove to the Saṅgha, the last great gift during the Master's lifetime. When the Buddha approached his eightieth year, he felt that his end was at hand.

He explained to Ānanda many matters concerning the Law (Dharma) and Discipline and told his pupils that he had unfolded to them all that a good and benevolent teacher ought and that henceforth his word should be their teacher. The massacre of the Śākyas was followed by the death of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana within one week. The Master was at Pāvā. Cunda, a blacksmith of the town, invited him to a meal of rice, cakes and *sūkaramaddava*. There is no agreement among the scholars about the meaning of the last word. It may be either a boar's tender flesh or some kind of edible herb. Whatever it might have been, it was difficult to digest and the Buddha was taken ill with dysentery. His illness, however, did not prevent him from going on to Kuśinagara. Here he asked Ānanda to spread a cloth on the ground between two sal trees. He was born between two sal trees and was to die in a similar place. He lay down like

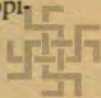
a lion and gave his last admonitions to thousands of monks and lay folk who had assembled to have a last glimpse of him. The following were his last words: "Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay! Strive after salvation energetically."

His remains were cremated with royal honours. A battle for the possession of his mortal remains for daily worship was stopped by Droṇa, a brāhmaṇa. Eight stūpas were erected in different parts of India to house his relics. The death of the Buddha took place on the full moon of Vaiśākha (May) as did his birth and awakening. The day is therefore called the thrice-sacred day.

The teaching of Lord Buddha may be divided into two groups: (i) philosophical, and (ii) moral. The two groups are interwoven in such a way that the one cannot be understood properly without a knowledge of the other. The fundamental principle of the Buddha's philosophy is the theory of Causation or Dependent Origination. According to this theory, the continuous existence of a being is like a wheel of causes and effects. Ignorance gives rise to actions, then in their turn come consciousness, phenomena (nāma-rūpa), the six senses, contact, feeling, craving, grasping, becoming, birth and sufferings. If the last effect is to be destroyed, the primary cause, which is ignorance, must be destroyed.

Another important theory of the Buddha concerns the Four Noble Truths, the first being that all existence is full of suffering. The second truth is that all suffering has a cause. The third truth is that suffering can be made to come to an end and the last that there is a way to end suffering.

The critics of Buddhism will no doubt consider the first two truths pessimistic but the other two certainly provide grounds for optimism. Why does the Buddha say that the existence of a being is full of suffering? Because all beings are subject to rebirth, decay, disease, death, and, again, rebirth. Even pleasures and worldly happiness lead one to sorrow because they are transitory and the loss of pleasure and happiness is worse than never to have had them.



Just as a good doctor tries to discover the cause of the malady before administering a remedy, the Buddha, the great spiritual doctor, tried to find the ultimate cause of worldly suffering, not only the suffering of human beings but that of all animate creatures. He found the cause to be ignorance or craving arising from it. The doctor removes the cause of the patient's disease and thus cures it. The Buddha similarly asks the people to remove their ignorance of truth and their craving for happiness. The cessation of suffering is called *nirvāṇa*, the *summum bonum*, beyond logical reasoning and beyond description. It is not a negative condition but a positive, unconditioned state realized by the mind.

How can this *nirvāṇa* be attained? By the Fourth Noble Truth, the Noble Eightfold Path. It is also called the Middle Path by which the wayfarer avoids the two extremes. He neither follows the path of self-mortification nor that of self-indulgence. During the Buddha's time ascetics often observed fasts, led abhorrent lives, exposed themselves to fires burning around them or slept upon spikes thinking that the mind was exalted by torturing the body. Like the Epicureans of Europe, the self-indulgent seekers thought nothing of this world and the next, of rebirth, karma and its fruit, and led lives of luxury and sin. The Buddha's Path followed neither, but led to vision, knowledge, tranquility and *nirvāṇa*. Formulated by the Buddha, it is an evidence of his logical reasoning and practical wisdom. Each step in the process is an inevitable advance on the path leading to the ideal.

The first step is the *right view*. Rid yourself of all superstitions, animism and primitive rites, give up your faith in the cruel animal or human sacrifice, in the inequality of human beings, and in the existence of a prime creator of the universe and depend on your own powers of pure reasoning. This step gave Buddhism its rational basis. If one's view is wrong, one's determination is bound to be faulty. *Right mental resolve* is the foundation of all great achievements provided it is based on the right view. If one believes in racial, social or communal discrimination, one's determina-



tion is sure to prove baneful to the world. *Right speech* results from right determination and action is preceded by speech. Words free from lies, anger, abuse, calumny and slander are the right speech which is followed by *right action*. Abstinence from killing, stealing, indulgence in passions and from drinking intoxicants is the negative aspect of right action, while charity, truth, service, and kindness constitute the positive one.

Right livelihood is the outcome of right action. Wrong means of livelihood are those which cause suffering to others. Trafficking in deadly weapons, in animals for slaughter, in human beings for slavery and intoxicating drinks and poisons are examples. A monk is not allowed to do any bodily service for a layman in exchange for food or clothing. He must earn his alms only by his goodwill towards others. *Right effort* consists in strenuous endeavour by a person for his own mental and moral elevation. He should first give up his bad habits, acquire new good ones, keep himself free from evil tendencies and promote the good qualities that he may have acquired already. The Buddha lays great stress on his step which he counted among the ten perfections (pāramitās) that a Bodhisattva must achieve before his enlightenment. *Right mindfulness* is the attention paid to the activities and weaknesses of one's body and mind. The last step in the middle path is *right concentration*, the fixing of the mental faculties on a single object. This ability is useful not only to the spiritually inclined but is essential in all pursuits, whether they are scientific, literary, artistic or religious.

The Middle Path is aptly set forth in the following verse:

Of all sin the avoidance,
Of merit the acquisition,
Of mind the purification,
This is the Buddha's admonition.



Speaking of this Noble Eightfold Path, Dr. Rhys Davids says: "If this Buddhist ideal of perfect life is remarkable when compared with the thought of India at that time, it is equally instructive when looked at from the comparative point of view."¹

The Buddha accepted the ancient Indian theory of karma. It lays down that the deeds of a being determine the state of life into which he will be reborn. "We find inequality prevailing everywhere. Some are born rich, others poor; some are beautiful, others ugly; some are intelligent, others witless. What is the reason of this?" asked King Milinda. His teacher replied that this anomaly was due to the karma of each being in his former life and quoted the Buddha's words in support. "Every living being has karma as its master, its inheritance, its congenital cause, its kinsman, its refuge. It is karma that differentiates all beings into low and high states."² The karma or deed may be mental, oral or physical. Its nature is judged by the accompanying volition. Involuntary or unconscious acts are not treated as karma.

According to the Buddhist doctrine of karma, one is not always compelled by an iron necessity to go through worldly joys and sorrows from one life to another. Karma is not predestination imposed on us by some mysterious creator to which we must helplessly submit ourselves. Though of pre-Buddhist origin, the doctrine of karma was highly developed by the Buddha and his followers, who held that a being possesses the freedom of will to act, irrespective of his acts in his previous births. Existence, whether in bad or good conditions, is impermanent though the latter is the better of the two. The best is freedom from karma, *naiṣkarmya*, leading to Arhatship and consequently to *nirvāṇa* (*mokṣa* of the Brahmanical philosophy), the total extinction of personality. During one of his sermons, the Buddha pointed to the flame of a lamp, saying it was passing through a cycle of

1. American Lectures, p. 139.

2. Milinda, 65.





The First Sermon. Stone, Gupta, Sarnath, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, Gandhi National Department of Archaeology, Government of India)



Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

The Buddha. Bronze, Sultanganj, Bihar, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, City

rebirth and death. Then he blew out the flame and said, "The flame is now extinguished. It will not burn any longer. The same is the case with an Arhaṭ who attains nirvāṇa (lit. extinction) for he will be born no more."¹ Nirvāṇa has a secondary meaning when it stands for the extinction of the springs of action: craving, hatred, delusion (moha), or their opposites.

Nirvāṇa, the ideal, requires constant spiritual exercise and contemplation. Before soaring into the subtle regions of thought, the yogin or the spiritual aspirant cultivates the four noble sentiments, Brahmavihāras, which give a foretaste of life in the Brahma world. Mettā or universal love, karuṇā or compassion, muditā or sympathetic joy and upekkhā or equanimity are the four sentiments which know no bounds of time, space or class. The Buddha imbued the robber Aṅgulimāla's mind with mettā and the robber was converted into a spiritual wayfarer. When your fellow beings are in misery, you must feel compassion for them and when they are happy you must feel happiness. These feelings are not restricted to mankind alone but cover all beings, past, present, future, whether of this world or of other worlds. Equanimity should be so real that you should feel the same towards a man who besmears your arm with sandal paste and one who hacks your other arm with an axe. Universal love and equanimity are also regarded as the perfections (pāramitās) of the Bodhisattva.

The code of morality of the Buddhist is mainly founded on the Buddha's word, while the Buddha himself repeatedly says that the Dharma is ancient and passed on by the ṛṣis or holy men from age to age. The rules of conduct for the monks and nuns are definite and are given in the Book of Discipline. The ideal of the monastic order is nirvāṇa while that of lay devotees, or worldly folk, is rebirth in a higher heaven. They perform meritorious acts, give charities to monks, brāhmaṇas and the indigent people, worship their ancestors and observe fasts four times every month. The lay

1. Saṃyutta, I, 159 ; cf. Suttanipāta, 235.



devotees take the vow to follow the five commandments (*śīlas*) throughout their lives. They are forbidden to deprive any animal of its life, to take what is not given, to tell falsehood, to commit adultery and to use intoxicants. For days when fasts are to be observed, there are three additional prohibitions.

The Buddha disapproved of superstitious rites and ceremonies and degrading ascetic practices. He strove to remove caste distinctions. As he says:

One does not become a *brāhmaṇa* by birth.
 One does not become an outcast by birth.
 One becomes a *brāhmaṇa* by act,
 One becomes an outcast by act.¹

The Buddha condemned violence against others in any form whatsoever. Sacrifices in which animals—and sometimes human beings—were killed and battles in which men were put to the sword were condemned by him. Forbearance, according to him, was a greater virtue than the exercise of the martial spirit. He wanted every man to be virtuous and wise and not only a chosen few. He preached the *dharma* for the welfare and happiness of everyman (*bahu-jana*). He said, “O, monks, go on a round for alms to different places. Don’t go twain to the same place to preach the *Dharma*.” He used the mother tongue of the people for his sermons instead of an artificial language understood only by the learned few. The Buddha’s religion is not a dogmatic and elaborate system of rites, runes or prayers but a way of life, of purity in thinking, speaking and acting. The Buddha was the first rationalist of the world who asserted that one was one’s own saviour and master without reference to any outside power.

1. *Suttanipāta*, 641.



CHAPTER IV

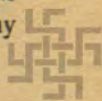
Four Buddhist Councils

The First Council

According to Pali tradition recorded in canonical and non-canonical literature, three Saṅgītis (recitals) or Councils were held to draw up the canonical texts and the creed in their pure form. The First Council was held at Rājagṛha immediately after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. It is accepted by critical scholarship that the First Council settled the Dhamma and the Vinaya and there is no ground for the view that the Abhidhamma formed part of the canon adopted at the First Council. It is held that Mahākassapa presided over the assembly in which Upāli and Ānanda took an important part. There was seldom dissension over doctrinal matters, but the Council was necessitated by the pious determination of the disciples of the Lord to preserve the purity of his teaching.

The tradition preserved in the 11th khandhaka of the Cullavagga has been accepted as authoritative in the different accounts found in extra-canonical literature, such as the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa.

It is asserted in the Cullavagga that Mahākassapa was not present at the mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha at Kuśinagara. While he was proceeding from Pāvā to Kuśinagara with a large retinue, the news of the decease of the Master was brought to him by a naked ascetic of the Ājīvika sect. It is recorded that a thera called Subhadda exhorted the monks, who were vociferous in their lamentations, to refrain from expressing grief, and called upon them to think the occasion a good riddance. Since they were treated as so many



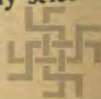
schoolboys by the Master, who often admonished them for their unbecoming conduct, they would now be free to do as they thought fit without let or hindrance. This irreverent remark filled the Venerable Mahākassapa with alarm for the future safety and purity of the Dhamma preached by the Master. Mahākassapa also had other reasons for anxiety as pointed out in the Mahāvamsa¹. He received the garment of the Master as a token of authority equal to that of the Master and was determined to fulfil the Master's command to establish the holy truth. The remark of Subhadda was a clear indication of the necessity of convening a Council for the fulfilment of this noble objective.

It may be observed in this connection that Subhadda was not the only person to have such thoughts. There were many others who felt that with the passing of the Master the Dhamma he had taught would disappear. The account in the Tibetan Dulva and also that of Yuan Chwang refer to this general feeling of doubt and consternation as having been the motive for the convocation of the First Council.

After some deliberation the town of Rājagṛha was selected for the meeting of the Council. It is said that the Council was held near the Saptaparnī Cave, though according to the Tibetan Dulva it is supposed to have taken place at the Nyagrodha Cave. The authority of the Cullavagga, however, need not be called in question and it has been followed by almost all subsequent accounts.

The Lokottaravāda account places the venue of the Council on the northern side of Mount Vebhāra (or Vaibhāra), while in Aśvaghoṣa's account, the Indraśāla Cave of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa is mentioned. It is stated in the Pali Chronicle that the Saptaparnī Cave was situated on the side of Mount Vebhāra and that a pandal was erected at the instance of King Ajātaśatru outside of this cave. The site of the cave, however, has not yet been definitely identified. None the less, there is no dispute about the fact that it is at Rājagṛha that the First Council met. It was evidently select-

1. See Mahāvamsa, Chapter III.



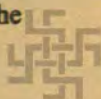
ed because accommodation was plentiful and there was no difficulty about supplies. It is also said in the *Dulva* that *Rājagṛha* was selected because King *Ajātaśatru* was a firm believer in the Buddhist faith and that he would therefore make ample provision for food and lodging. The accounts in the *Mahāvamsa* and *Samanta-pāsādikā* lend support to this assertion. Hence, the omission of the name of *Ajātaśatru* in the *Cullavagga* need not be regarded as evidence against the authenticity of this account.

The meeting actually took place in the second month of the rainy season. In the *Samanta-pāsādikā* we find a detailed description of the ceremonies which took place about six weeks before the actual opening of the session. Allowing for natural exaggerations, it may be affirmed that *Mahākassapa* took the initiative and chose four hundred and ninety-nine bhikkhus to form the Council. It is stated in the *Cullavagga* and confirmed in the *Dīpavaṃsa* that the number of monks was chosen in pursuance of a vote by the general congregation of monks assembled on the occasion and at the place of the *parinibbāṇa* of the Master.

There is general agreement that the number of the monks selected was five hundred. *Yuan Chwang*, however, makes it a thousand which may be an excusable exaggeration considering the long interval between the event and *Yuan Chwang's* time.

There was, however, some protest regarding the omission of *Ānanda* from the number of councillors chosen. In the *Cullavagga*, it is stated that the bhikkhus strongly interceded for *Ānanda*, though he had not attained Arhathood, because of the high moral standard he had reached and also because he had learnt the Dhamma and the Vinaya from the Master himself.

Ānanda was eventually accepted by *Mahākassapa* as a result of the motion on the part of the monks. The procedure followed regarding *Ānanda* has, however, given rise to a controversy. It will be observed that *Ānanda* was brought to trial in the course of the proceedings. The



Dulva, however, places the trial before the meeting of the Council. The account of the Cullavagga is followed by the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsaṅghikas and declares that Ānanda had to meet certain charges after the recital of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, but there is no allusion to Ānanda's failings in the Dīpavaṃsa, the Mahāvamsa, Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādikā and the Mahāvastu.

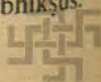
Proceedings of the Council

The procedure followed at the Council was a simple one. With the permission of the Saṅgha, the Venerable Mahākassapa asked questions on the Vinaya of the Venerable Upāli. All these questions related to the four Pārājikas, the matter, the occasion, the individual concerned, the principal rule, the amended rule as well as to the question as to who would be guilty and who innocent of these Pārājikas. In this way the Vinaya text was agreed upon at the Council.

The turn of Ānanda came next. The subject matter of the Sutta-piṭaka, in all the five Nikāyas, was formulated as questions for Ānanda who gave appropriate answers. These questions followed the lines adopted in those on the Vinaya—the occasion of the sermons and the person or persons with reference to whom they were given. The answers given by Ānanda settled the corpus of the Sutta-piṭaka.

Buddhaghosa in the Samanta-pāsādikā gives a detailed account of the constituent parts of the Vinaya and the Sutta-piṭaka that were recited at the Council.

According to all these different accounts, beginning with the Cullavagga and ending with the Samanta-pāsādikā, the entire business of the Council is said to have been conducted by Mahākassapa, Upāli and Ānanda. The Dīpavaṃsa, however, gives a more representative character to the proceedings and the results achieved. The texts are said to have been compiled by the bhikṣus following the lead of Upāli in the Vinaya and that of Ānanda in respect of the Dhamma. The works as arranged and settled are ascribed to the collective authorship of the whole Council of bhikṣus.



The account given in the Mahāvastu differs materially from the Pali tradition. It is stated that Kātyāyana was the leading exponent and the subject of the discourse was Daśabhūmis. The Mahāvastu, however, is the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a sect which came into existence long after the Mahāsaṅghikas had brought about the schism in the Church.

There is, however, no mention of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka as having been a subject of discussion at the First Council. In later literature, however, questions were raised regarding the authenticity of the Abhidhamma as an integral part of the Canon, and this is significant.

Charges against Ānanda

As already mentioned, there was considerable agitation over the admission of Ānanda to the Synod. Mahākassapa is said to have entertained misgivings regarding his admission on the ground of his failure to reach Arhathood, which he did actually reach on the eve of the session of the Council. But in spite of this achievement and of the belief and convention that the attainment of Arhathood emancipates a man from all guilt and punishment, Ānanda was arraigned by the monks on several charges which he explained as follows:

(1) He could not formulate the lesser and minor precepts, as he was overwhelmed with grief at the imminent death of the master.

(2) He had to tread upon the garment of the Master while sewing it as there was no one to help him.

(3) He permitted women to salute first the body of the Master, because he did not want to detain them. He also did this for their edification.

(4) He was under the influence of the evil one when he forgot to request the Master to enable him to continue his study for a kalpa.

(5) He had to plead for the admission of women into the Order out of consideration for Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī



who nursed the Master in his infancy.

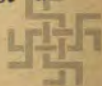
The charges are differently framed in the other Vinayas. According to the *Dulva*, two other charges also seem to have been brought against Ānanda, first that he failed to supply drinking water to the Buddha though he had thrice asked for it and secondly, that he showed the privy parts of the Buddha to men and women of low character. His replies were (6) that the water of the river was muddy, and (7) that the exhibition of the privy parts would rid those concerned of their sensuality. These replies may be taken as having satisfied the Assembly.

Another important item of business transacted at the First Council was the passing of the highest penalty (*Brahmadanda*) on Channa who was the charioteer of the Master on the day of the Great Renunciation. This monk had slighted every member of the Order, high and low, and was arrogant in the extreme. The penalty imposed was complete social boycott. When the punishment was announced to Channa he was seized with profound repentance and grief and was purged of all his weaknesses. In short, he became an Arhat. The punishment automatically ceased to be effective.

Briefly, the proceedings of the First Council achieved four results: (1) the settlement of the Vinaya under the leadership of Upāli, (2) the settlement of the texts of the Dhamma under the leadership of Ānanda, (3) the trial of Ānanda, and (4) the punishment of Channa.

There is, however, a difference between the account of the *Cullavagga* and that of the *Dulva* regarding the trial of Ānanda. According to the former, the trial took place practically after the conclusion of the main business, whereas in the *Dulva* it comes before his admission to the Council.

Prof. Oldenberg is sceptical about the historical authenticity of the First Council. The irreverent remark of Subhadda is also found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, but there is not the slightest allusion to the holding of the Council. This doubt based on omission is at best an



argumentum ex silentio. The unanimous tradition among all the schools of Buddhism cannot therefore be brushed aside as a pious fabrication. In spite of the minor discrepancies there is a substantial core of agreement regarding the convention of the First Council, which was a logical and ecclesiastical necessity. It was natural that the creed of the Church should be determined in a systematic way after the passing of the Master. Fortunately, Prof. Oldenberg appears to plough a lonely furrow. Scholars, both Eastern and Western, are all united in their rejection of this scepticism.

The Second Council

The Second Council was held at Vaisali a century after the passing of the Master. The time recorded should be taken as a round number. It is recorded in the Cullavagga that the monks of the Vajji country were in the habit of practising the Ten Points (*dasa vatthūni*) which were regarded as unorthodox by Yaśa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka. He declared these practices to be illegal and immoral in the extreme. The Vajji monks, however, pronounced the penalty of *paṭi-sāraṇīya-kamma* upon him. This necessitated the offender's apologizing to the laity who had been forbidden by Yaśa to carry out the precepts of the Vajji monks.

Yaśa defended his own view before the laity and by his eloquent advocacy won them over to his side. This increased the fury of the offending monks who pronounced the punishment of *ukkhepanīya-kamma* upon him, which meant his virtual expulsion from the Brotherhood.

The Ten Points or Indulgences described in the Cullavagga are as follows:

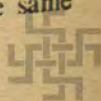
- (i) *Siṅgilonakappa*, or the practice of carrying salt in a horn. This practice is contrary to *pācittiya* 38 which prohibits the storage of food.
- (ii) *Dvaṅgulakappa*, or the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad. This is against *pācittiya* 37 which forbids the taking of food after midday.



- (iii) Gāmantarakappa, or the practice of going to another village and taking a second meal there on the same day. This is opposed to pācittiya 35 which forbids over-eating.
- (iv) Āvāsakappa, or the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in various places in the same parish. This practice contravenes the Mahāvagga rules of residence in a parish (sīmā).
- (v) Anumatikappa, or obtaining sanction for a deed after it is done. This also amounts to a breach of monastic discipline.
- (vi) Āciṇṇakappa, or using customary practices as precedents. This also belongs to the above category.
- (vii) Amathitakappa, or the drinking of buttermilk after meals. This practice is in contravention of pācittiya 35 which prohibits over-eating.
- (viii) Jalogiṃ-pātuṃ, or the drinking of toddy. This practice is opposed to pācittiya 51 which forbids the drinking of intoxicants.
- (ix) Adasakaṃ-nisidanaṃ, or using a rug which has no fringe. This is contrary to pācittiya 89 which prohibits the use of borderless sheets.
- (x) Jātarūparajataṃ, or the acceptance of gold and silver which is forbidden by rule 18 of the Nissaggiya-pācittiya.

The Venerable Yaśa openly declared these practices to be unlawful. After the sentence of excommunication had been passed on him, he went to Kauśāmbī and sent messengers to the bhikṣus of the Western Country and of Avantī and of the Southern Country, inviting them to assemble and decide the question in order to arrest the growth of irreligion and ensure the preservation of the Vinaya.

Next, he proceeded to the Ahogaṅgā hill where Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī dwelt. He saluted the venerable monk and expounded the Ten Theses advocated by the Vajjian monks. He invited him to take up this question in earnest. The Venerable Sāṇavāsī agreed to do so. About the same



time, some sixty Arhats came from the Western Country and assembled on the Ahogaṅgā hill. About eighty-eight from Avantī and the Southern Country also joined them. These monks declared the question to be hard and subtle. They thought of the Venerable Revata who was at Soreyya and was celebrated for his learning and piety. They proposed to meet him and enlist his support. After a good deal of travelling they met the Venerable Revata Sahajāti. On the advice of Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi, he approached the Venerable Revata and placed the issue before him. One by one, Bhikṣu Revata brought up the Ten Points and asked for his opinion. Each one of them was declared to be invalid by the Venerable Revata.

Meanwhile, the Vajjian monks were not idle. They also went to Sahajāti in order to enlist the support of the Venerable Revata. They offered him rich presents which the Venerable Revata refused with thanks. However, they induced his disciple, Uttara, to take up their cause, but he failed. At the suggestion of Revata, the monks proceeded to Vaisali in order to settle the dispute at the place of its origin. Seven hundred monks met in a Council, but there was much rambling talk and fruitless discussion. In order to avoid further waste of time and irrelevant discussion, the matter was referred to a committee consisting of four monks from the East and four from the West. Bhikkhu Ajita was appointed the seat-regulator. The Venerable Sabbakāmi was elected president. The Ten Points were put one by one and they were declared unlawful. The questions were stated again and the same decision was arrived at in the full assembly of the Council.

The unanimous verdict of the assembly declared the conduct of the Vajjian monks to be unlawful.

The account given above is taken from the Cullavagga. The accounts in the Mahāvagga and the Dīpavaṃsa add certain points and raise the number of the bhikṣus to an extraordinarily high figure. According to the Dīpavaṃsa and the Samanta-pāsādikā, the Council was held in the



reign of King Kālāśoka, a descendent of Ajātaśatru. Kālāśoka, though formerly in favour of the Vajjian monks, was prevailed upon to give his support to the Council of the Theras. The Dīpavaṃsa mentions that the bhikṣus of Vaisali held another Council which was attended by ten thousand monks. It was called the Great Council (Mahāsaṅgīti). According to the Mahāvaṃsa, a council of seven hundred theras compiled the Dhamma. In the Samantapāsādikā, Buddhaghosa observes that after the final judgment, the seven hundred bhikṣus engaged in the recital of the Vinaya and the Dhamma and drew up a new edition resulting in the Piṭakas, Nikāyas, Aṅgas and Dharmaskhandhas.

There are slight divergences in the Chinese and Tibetan versions. The Northern version generally puts the date of the Council 110 years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha. In spite of these minor differences there is substantial agreement on the genesis of the Council and the matters discussed and decided. Oldenberg, however, throws doubt on the genuineness of the Council on the ground that the Vinaya text does not take note of the propositions discussed at Vaisali, but these points are neither positive nor strong enough to prove the unanimous tradition of the Buddhist schools to be an invention of later writers. The story of the Second Council has every reason to be accepted as genuine. It resulted in a schism in the Buddhist Church and the secession of the Mahāsaṅghikas which is confirmed by later evidence.¹

The Third Council

The Third Council was held at Pāṭaliputra under the aegis of the celebrated Buddhist monarch, Priyadarśī Aśoka. Aśoka was won over to the Buddhist faith within a few years of his accession to the throne. The occasion for the Third Council was supplied by the need to establish the purity of the Canon which had been imperilled by the rise of different sects and their rival claims, teachings and

1. Further details will be found in Chapters VI-A and XVI.

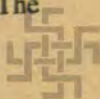


practices. According to Kern, the Third Council was not a general Council but a party meeting of the Sthaviravādins or Vibhajjavādins. Tissa Moggaliputta, who is reputed to have converted the Emperor to the Buddhist faith, was pained to observe the corrupt practices that had crept into the Brotherhood and the heretical doctrines preached by sectarians of various descriptions. He succeeded in subduing the heresies and expelling the sectarians from the Church. The most significant outcome of the Council was that he restored the true faith and propounded the Abhidhamma treatise, the Kathā-vatthu, during the session of the Council.

There is an account of the miraculous birth of Moggaliputta Tissa and his conversion to the Buddhist faith in the Mahāvamsa. The cardinal points in the life of Tissa are that he was born in a brāhmaṇa family and learned the three Vedas before he was sixteen. He was, however, won over to the new faith by Thera Siggava and very soon attained to Arhatship with all its attendant supernatural powers. It was under his influence that the Emperor made over to the Buddhist Order his son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā. These two crossed to Laṅkā (Ceylon) and converted the whole island to the Buddhist faith.

With the conversion of Aśoka, the material prosperity of the monasteries grew by leaps and bounds and the monks lived in ease and comfort. The heretics who had lost their income and honour were attracted by these prospects to enter the Buddhist Order. They continued, however, to adhere to their old faiths and practices and preached their doctrines as the doctrines of the Buddha. This caused extreme distress to Thera Moggaliputta who retired to a secluded retreat on the Ahogaṅgā mountain up the Ganges and stayed there for seven years.

The number of the heretics and false monks became far larger than that of the true believers. The result was that for seven years no Uposatha or Pavāraṇā ceremony was held in any of the monasteries. The community of the faithful monks refused to observe these festivals with the heretics. The



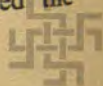
Emperor was filled with distress at this failure of the Brotherhood and sent commands for the observance of the Uposatha.

A grievous blunder was committed by the Minister who was entrusted with this task. He misunderstood the command and beheaded several monks for their refusal to carry out the king's order. When this sad news was reported to Aśoka he was seized with grief and apologized for this misdeed. He asked the Brotherhood whether they held him responsible. Some thought him guilty, some not. The king was perplexed and enquired if there was any among the monks who could set his doubt at rest. They all said that only Thera Tissa, the son of Moggali, could answer his question. Thereupon the king sent messengers to the monk asking him to come down to Pāṭaliputra.

After several unsuccessful attempts, the Elder Tissa was prevailed upon to consent to journey by boat. On the arrival of the great monk, the monarch himself came forward to receive him. He went knee-deep into the water and extended his right hand to the Thera as a token of great reverence.

The venerable monk was lodged in the pleasure garden and shown exceeding reverence and courtesy. He was then asked to perform a miracle, which request he instantly complied with. This confirmed the King in his faith, and he asked him whether he was guilty of the murder of the monks through his Minister. The Thera answered that there was no guilt without evil intent. This satisfied the scruples of the King.

The venerable monk instructed the King in the holy religion of the Buddha for a week. The King thereafter convoked an assembly of the whole community of bhikkhus. He called the bhikkhus of several persuasions to his presence and asked them to expound the teachings of the Blessed One. They set forth their misguided beliefs, such as the doctrine of the eternal soul, and so on. These heretical monks numbering sixty thousand were expelled from the Brotherhood by the King. He thereafter interrogated the



true believers about the doctrine taught by the Blessed One and they answered that it was Vibhajjavāda (the religion of analytical reasoning). When the Thera corroborated the truth of this answer, the King made the request that the brotherhood should hold the Uposatha ceremony so that the whole community might be purified of evil elements. The Thera was made the guardian of the Order.

Thera Tissa thereafter elected a thousand bhikkhus of the Brotherhood who were well versed in the three Piṭakas to make a compilation of the true doctrine. For nine months he worked with the monks and the compilation of the true Tripiṭaka was completed. This Council was held in the same manner and with the same zeal as those of Mahākassapa and Thera Yasa respectively. In the midst of the Council Thera Tissa set forth the Kathāvatthu-pakaraṇa wherein the heretical doctrines were thoroughly examined and refuted. Thus ended the Third Council in which a thousand bhikkhus took part.

One of the momentous results of this Council was the despatch of missionaries to the different countries of the world for the propagation of the Saddhamma. Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, and Saṅghamittā, his daughter, were charged with missionary work in the island of Ceylon. We have already mentioned the singular success of this mission in that island. From the edicts of Aśoka we know of the various Buddhist missions he sent to far-off countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. It is to a large extent due to these missionary activities that Buddhism became the ruling religion of a large part of mankind.

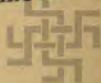
The Fourth Council

The Fourth Council was held under the auspices of Kaṇiṣka who was a powerful king of the Śaka or Turuṣka race. He held sway over a wide tract of country including Kabul, Gandhāra, Sindh, North-West India, Kashmir and part of Madhyadeśa. He was esteemed as highly by the Northern Buddhists as was Aśoka. From numismatic evi-



dence it appears that originally he was an adherent of some form of Iranian religion, and was later converted to the Buddhist faith. Though we have no indisputable evidence of the date of his conversion, it is almost certain that the date of the Council held under his inspiration and patronage was about 100 A.D. The place of the Assembly was, according to one authority, Jālandhar, and according to another, Kashmir. The Southern Buddhists do not recognize this Council and there is no reference to it in the Chronicles of Ceylon. It would not be wrong to assume that the Buddhists of the Theravāda schools did not participate in the Council. According to a Tibetan record, one of the results of the Council was the settling of the dissensions in the Brotherhood. The eighteen sects were all acknowledged to be the repositories of the genuine doctrine. According to Yuan Chwang, King Kaniṣka became interested in the Buddhist scriptures and sent for a monk every day to give him instruction but, as the instruction differed and was often contradictory, the King was perplexed and consulted the Venerable Pārśva about the true doctrine. It was on his advice that he decided to convoke a Council in which the various sects would be represented. He was anxious to put an end to the dissensions in the Church. The King built a monastery for the accommodation of 500 monks who were called upon to write commentaries on the Piṭakas. The commentary on the Sutta-piṭaka was composed in 100,000 ślokas. The Vinaya-vibhāṣā, a commentary on the Vinaya, also consisted of 100,000 ślokas, and the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā, which was composed in the Council, also ran to the same number.

The proceedings of the Council were thus confined to the composition of the commentaries. And it appears that the doctrines which enlisted the greatest common measure of agreement were the most strongly stressed. It appears also that the monks of the Sarvāstivāda school predominated at the Council. It is also highly probable that the major subdivisions of the Sthaviravāda schools including the less orthodox sections were also represented in fair number.



There is no evidence that Mahāyāna Buddhism was represented in the proceedings, as it came into prominence only after the birth of Nāgārjuna which was after the Council. The Rājatarāṅginī holds that Nāgārjuna flourished after the rule of the Turuṣka kings.

Yuan Chwang reports that after the treatises were composed they were inscribed on copper plates and enclosed in stone boxes which were deposited in a tope made for the purpose. "The most significant trait of the Third Council", says Kern, "is that it closed a period of old quarrels between the sects; it did not prevent the rise of new aspirations."

Though the details appear to be exaggerated, it would not be reasonable to disbelieve entirely the tradition which persisted among the Northern Buddhists regarding the historical truth of the Fourth Council. We therefore demur to accept the view of La Vallée Poussin that it was "an apologetic quasi-invention". The fact that Yuan Chwang records the occurrence of the Council after a lapse of five centuries, and that the records in the Tibetan Chronicles bearing testimony to the convocation of the Council are of still later date, does not warrant complete scepticism.

It is a matter of regret that Yuan Chwang and the Tibetan chroniclers do not expressly mention the medium in which the works were composed. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Sanskrit was the language used at the proceedings. In fact the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu is based upon these Vibhāṣās, and the commentary of Yaśomitra cites *ipsissima verba* from the old Vibhāṣā literature. Furthermore, the discovery of the work of Ghosaka, the Abhidharmāmṛta, which is not far removed from the time of Kaṇiṣka, should clinch all controversy. The Fourth Council may thus be regarded as an epoch-making event in the history of Buddhism in that it made Sanskrit the vehicle of Buddhist scriptures. "All accounts are silent on the idiom of the sacred texts approved or revised at the Third Council, but from that silence we must not infer that the Chinese pilgrims had no notion of a canon that was written in another language



but Sanskrit. It is an untoward circumstance that all the works of the old canon, the Tripiṭaka in the proper acceptation of the term, so far as they have been preserved, are only known through translations of Sanskritized texts." These words of Kern deserve careful consideration, and perhaps sound a warning against hasty dogmatism.

APPENDIX I

Councils in Ceylon

According to the Mahāvamsa and other Ceylonese traditions three Councils were held in Ceylon.

The first of these was held during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa (247—207 B.C.) under the presidentship of the Venerable Ariṭṭha Thera. This Council was held after the arrival in the island of Buddhist missionaries, headed by Thera Mahinda, a son of Emperor Aśoka. According to tradition, sixty thousand Arhats took part in the assembly, and as desired by Thera Mahinda, the Venerable Ariṭṭha, a Siṃhalese bhikkhu, recited the Canon. Thera Ariṭṭha is considered to be the first pupil of Mahinda in the line of the Siṃhalese Theras and seventh in succession of the Ācāriya-paramparā (lineage of teachers). The Council took place at the site of the Thūpārāma, in Anurādhapura.

In spite of this, the next Council which was held during the time of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (101—77 B.C.)² is considered to be the Fourth by the Theravāda school although, in India, Kaniṣka's Council was recognized as the Fourth.

According to the Siṃhalese tradition, not only was the Tripiṭaka rehearsed, but its commentaries were revised, recast and arranged subject-wise. It is said that as Buddhist religious practice and culture were threatened by growing materialism and the moral decline of mankind through wars and famines, the learned Mahātheras decided to hold this

1. See Kern, p. 122.

2. Some other sources believe the date to be 88–46 B.C.



synod so that the entire Canon and the commentaries might be committed to writing. At the end of the Council, the texts along with the *Atṭha-kathās* were inscribed on palm leaves and the scriptures were checked over a hundred times.

As many as 500 learned bhikkhus took part in the deliberations under the presidentship of Mahāthera Rakkhita. This is called the *Alu-vihāra* or the *Ālokavihāra* Council as it was held at *Āloka* Cave in the village of *Matale* in Ceylon. It is said that for the most part, it was patronized by a Minister of the King.

About a century ago, in 1865 A.D., another Council was held at *Ratnapura* in Ceylon under the presidentship of the Venerable *Hikkaduve Siri Sumaṅgala*. It continued for five months and was patronized by *Iddamalagoda Basnayaka Nilame*.

APPENDIX II

Councils in Thailand (Siam)

The *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*¹, or the History of the Recitals, written by a royal Thai patriarch named *Somdej Phra Vanarat* (*Bhadanta Vanaratana*) during the reign of *Rama I*, in B.E. 2332 (1789 A.D.), records as many as nine Councils. Of these nine Councils, the first three were held in India, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh in Ceylon, and the eighth and ninth in Thailand. The history of the five Councils including the first two of Ceylon is the same as that in the *Mahāvamsa* and other Siṃhalese traditions. The remaining two Councils, as described in the *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*, were not Councils in the true sense of the term.

The Sixth Council (in Ceylon)

The Sixth Council, as mentioned in the *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*,

¹ Only two copies of manuscripts of this book are preserved in the National Library of Thailand in Bangkok. It was published in B.E. 2466 (1923 A.D.) under the royal decree of King *Rama VI* to commemorate the cremation ceremony of H.R.H. Prince *Chudhadhadjahartiloka Kromkhum Bejboon Indrajaya*, a son of King *Rama V*.



was held during the reign of King Mahānāma in B.E. 516 in which only the commentaries were translated from Sinhalese into Māgadhī (Pali) by Bhadanta Buddhaghosa whose scholarship had been tested in many ways by the gods and the learned bhikkhus of Ceylon.

The Seventh Council (in Ceylon)

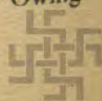
The Seventh Council is said to have revised only the commentaries of the Tripiṭaka of the Mahātheras and finally these were recited at the Council held under the presidency of the Venerable Mahākassapa. This took place in B.E. 1587 in the reign of King Parākramabāhu the Great. The Conference, which took place in the royal palace, lasted a year.

The Eighth Council (in Thailand)

In order to establish Buddhism on a firm basis, King Śrīdharmacakravartī Tilaka Rājādhirāja, the ruler of Northern Thailand called this Council in Chiangmai, his capital. The Assembly was held in Mahābodhi Ārāma between B.C. 2000 and 2026 and continued for a year. All the learned monks in Thailand took part in this Council.

The Ninth Council (in Thailand)

This Council was held in Bangkok in B.E. 2331, after a war between Thailand and a neighbouring kingdom. The old capital, Ayūthia (Ayodhyā), was destroyed by fire and many books and manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka were reduced to ashes. Moreover, the Brotherhood was disorganized and morally weakened by reason of the prolonged hostilities. King Rama I and his brother were perturbed at the moral laxity of the Saṅgha. They consulted the learned brethren in order to convene a Council so that the faith might be restored. Under the royal patronage 218 Elders and 32 lay scholars assembled together and continued the recitation of the Tripiṭaka for about a year. During and after this Council, the revival of Buddhism was in full swing in Thailand. Monasteries were rebuilt and pagodas were restored. Owing



to the enthusiasm of the general public many new monasteries and temples were also built.

APPENDIX III

Councils in Burma

The first three Councils having been held in India and the fourth in Ceylon where Pali books were committed to writing, the Fifth was held in order to prepare a uniform edition of the Pali Canon and to record it on marble slabs. This great Buddhist Council was convened at Mandalay in 1871 A.D. (B.E. 2414) under the patronage of King Min-don-min, and 2,400 learned monks and teachers participated. The Elders Jāgarābhivamsa, Narindābhiddhaja and Sumaṅgala Sāmi presided in turn. The recitation and recording of the Tripiṭaka on marble continued for about five months in the royal palace. Various available editions of the Tripiṭaka were used for comparison and collation by the learned Mahātheras, and the recording done on as many as 729 marble slabs selected for the purpose.

The Sixth Great Buddhist Council

The Sixth Buddhist Council was inaugurated in May 1954, in Rangoon, with the collaboration and participation of the learned bhikkhus of the various countries of the world, particularly India, Ceylon, Nepal, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Pakistan. The Venerable Abhidhaja Mahāraṭṭha Guru Bhadanta Revata presided.

About 500 bhikkhus from Burma, well versed in the study and practice of the teachings of the Buddha, were invited to take the responsibility for re-examining the text of the Tripiṭaka. Similar groups of monks were organized in each of the Buddhist countries to examine the texts of the Tripiṭaka. The Great Council that was inaugurated in 1954 was to go on till the completion of its task at the full moon of Vaiśākha, 1956, that is, the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's mahāparinirvāṇa. It is believed that this anniversary will bring about

a great revival of Buddhism and universal peace throughout the world.

On the auspicious days of the inauguration of the Sixth Council, which continued for three days, many valuable and important messages were received from all corners of the world, including India. Here we reproduce the message of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister:

"In sending my reverential greetings to the Chatṭha Saṅgāyana which is being inaugurated in Rangoon on the Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, my thought naturally goes back to similar Councils which have been held during nearly 2,500 years since the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha. The first three of these great and historic gatherings were held respectively at Rājagṛha, Vaisali and Pāṭaliputra, the three places famous in Buddhist history and sanctified by the repeated tread on their soils of the Great Teacher. The other two were held in Ceylon and Burma respectively, which received his teaching and have till today kept it alive in their own life and culture. It is a great idea to have the original texts revised and re-edited and brought out not only in their original form in Burmese script with Burmese translation but also the original texts with translations in the Hindi and English languages and scripts.

The programme of establishing a great Buddhist University which will serve as a centre for radiating light as a sequel to this great gathering will help not only to re-enliven and revive the teaching of the Master, but will also emphasize the great need in modern times for the spiritual and moral well-being of mankind, which can be attained not only by supplying its material needs and requirements in however abundant a measure that may be possible, but kindling in him that spiritual and moral light which alone can solve the problems born of greed, hatred and delusion which are at the root of all the conflicts that threaten to involve mankind in destruction.



Let us hope that it will succeed in not only reviving interest in Buddhism in countries where the religion of the Buddha is not followed today, but also in reinforcing and strengthening faith in the lives of those who are fortunate enough even today to follow that faith. May this great gathering once again bring the message of peace and goodwill to distracted mankind."

RAJENDRA PRASAD

"About a year ago or more, the Prime Minister of Burma told me that a Great Council or Synod of Buddhism was being organized and would be held in Rangoon. My mind went back to the previous Councils in the history of Buddhism from the days of the First Council which was called by King Ajātaśatru of Magadha at Rājagṛha, to that held in Mandalay in 1871. These Councils were landmarks in the history of Buddhism.

And now I welcome the holding of the Sixth Council of this great religion. It is inaugurated on a date of great historical significance—the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha. The full moon which shone with all its brightness on the day of the birth of the Buddha, on his attainment of enlightenment and on his parinibbāṇa, will be shining again on this auspicious day after two and a half millenia of human history.

This world Council will consider the doctrines and tenets of Buddhism and will perhaps codify them afresh for those of the Buddhist faith. But the Buddha has been something greater than all doctrine and dogma, and his eternal message has thrilled humanity through the ages. Perhaps at no time in past history was his message of peace more needed for a suffering and distracted humanity than it is today. May this great Council spread anew his great message of peace and bring a measure of solace to our generation.

I pay my homage to the memory of the Buddha and send my respectful greetings to the great Council at Rangoon which is meeting on an auspicious anniversary at a time of great need for the world."

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



CHAPTER V

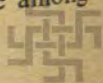
Asoka and the Expansion of Buddhism

I. ASOKA

Aśoka is rightly looked upon as the first great royal patron of Buddhism. Indeed, it was through his efforts that Buddhism came to occupy the prominent position it did in India and abroad.

According to Buddhist literary sources, in his youth Aśoka was known to be a man of fierce temperament and called Caṇḍa Aśoka (fierce Aśoka). As a prince, he was appointed Governor of Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa) where he married a rich merchant's daughter, who was to be the mother of Prince Mahendra. As soon as he came to know that Bindusāra, his father, was on the point of death, he rushed to the capital, Pāṭaliputra, occupied it and killed all the princes barring his own brother. This act on his part must have aroused strong popular opposition and it is said that Aśoka had to contend with the situation for four years before he was crowned King with public acclaim.

Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict says that at the end of eight years of his reign, he invaded the country of Kāliṅga, modern Orissa. In that invasion, many thousands of men were killed, several thousands were carried off into captivity and thousands died from the effects of the war. It is well known that this tremendous loss of life proved to be a turning point in the life of Aśoka. He repented and decided to undertake no further military campaigns. Instead he began to think of religious conquests, of *dhammavijaya*. He wanted to spread among his own subjects and among people outside his kingdom a new life, to inculcate among



them a love of piety and religion. To this end he appointed officers to go round the country on periodical religious missions.

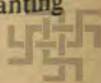
Aśoka thus became a zealous follower of the Buddha and took upon himself the task of making known to the people the teachings of the Lord. In his Bhabra edict, seven passages occur and most of these have been identified with certain passages in Pali literature. He wanted all people—monks as well as laymen—to have these passages read out to them. He thought that by inculcating the teachings of the Buddha, men and women would become better people. He paid reverence to the Buddha, the Dhamma, his Law, and the Saṅgha, his Order of Buddhist monks. He undertook pilgrimages to the Buddhist holy places. At the end of twenty years of his reign, he visited the Lumbinīdevī garden, where the Buddha was born. There he erected a pillar bearing an inscription which says that he visited the place to pay homage to the birth-place of the Buddha. Moreover, to commemorate his visit to the place he exempted the local people from paying taxes to his government. Similarly, he paid visits to Bodh Gaya and Sarnath where the Buddha had attained enlightenment and preached his first sermon. At the latter place, there is a pillar, now in fragments, which speaks of excommunicating those who would break the unity of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

What was Aśoka's conception of the Dhamma? He recognized the sanctity of life and condemned the slaughter of animals, whether as sacrifices or otherwise. At one time, he said, a large number of animals were killed in his kitchen for food for his household, but he had reduced the number to only two peacocks and one deer, and these were killed every day. He further declared that even these would not be killed in the future. He wanted the people to cultivate moral virtues, such as the observance of truth, restraint, kindness, charity, purity, gentleness, respect, obedience to one's elders and teachers, liberality to friends,



kinsmen, acquaintances and even servants and slaves, as advocated in a famous Pali sutta, the Sigālovāda-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. He enjoined the control of evil thoughts, such as anger, ferocity, conceit, envy and misguided self-will. He advocated tolerance for all religious sects and denominations, and respect for all pious men, such as the Sramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Jainas. It is also well known that he dedicated caves to the Ājīvikas. He wanted all religious denominations to desist from self-praise and condemnation of others. The pillar edicts of Aśoka which were inscribed towards the end of his reign show that he was completely converted to the Buddhist ideas of kindness to all created beings. He drew up a list of different kinds of living beings which were to be exempted from slaughter. He felt that the same consideration should be shown to does and female pigs that were bearing, or suckling young ones. He laid down that animals need not feed on other animals. He condemned the castration of animals and their branding on Buddhist holy days, such as the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth of each fortnight, or on holy days of the Tīṣya constellation. He also set free prisoners from his prisons from time to time. He wanted all people to come closer to the gods in virtue and thus minimize the difference between gods and men.

As already described, Aśoka appointed religious officers of various grades to different provinces to help the people to lead a pious life. He had his edicts carved on rocks and stone pillars. The rock edicts are mostly to be found in places at the periphery of his vast empire and the pillar edicts along high roads or at places of pilgrimage where large crowds gathered. He wanted his subjects to practise the laws of piety, and he and his family also practised them. He went on religious tours instead of going on hunting expeditions, as he thought that these would enable him to meet ascetics and brāhmaṇas. He could thus have religious discussions and confer large charities upon them. He performed pious acts such as planting

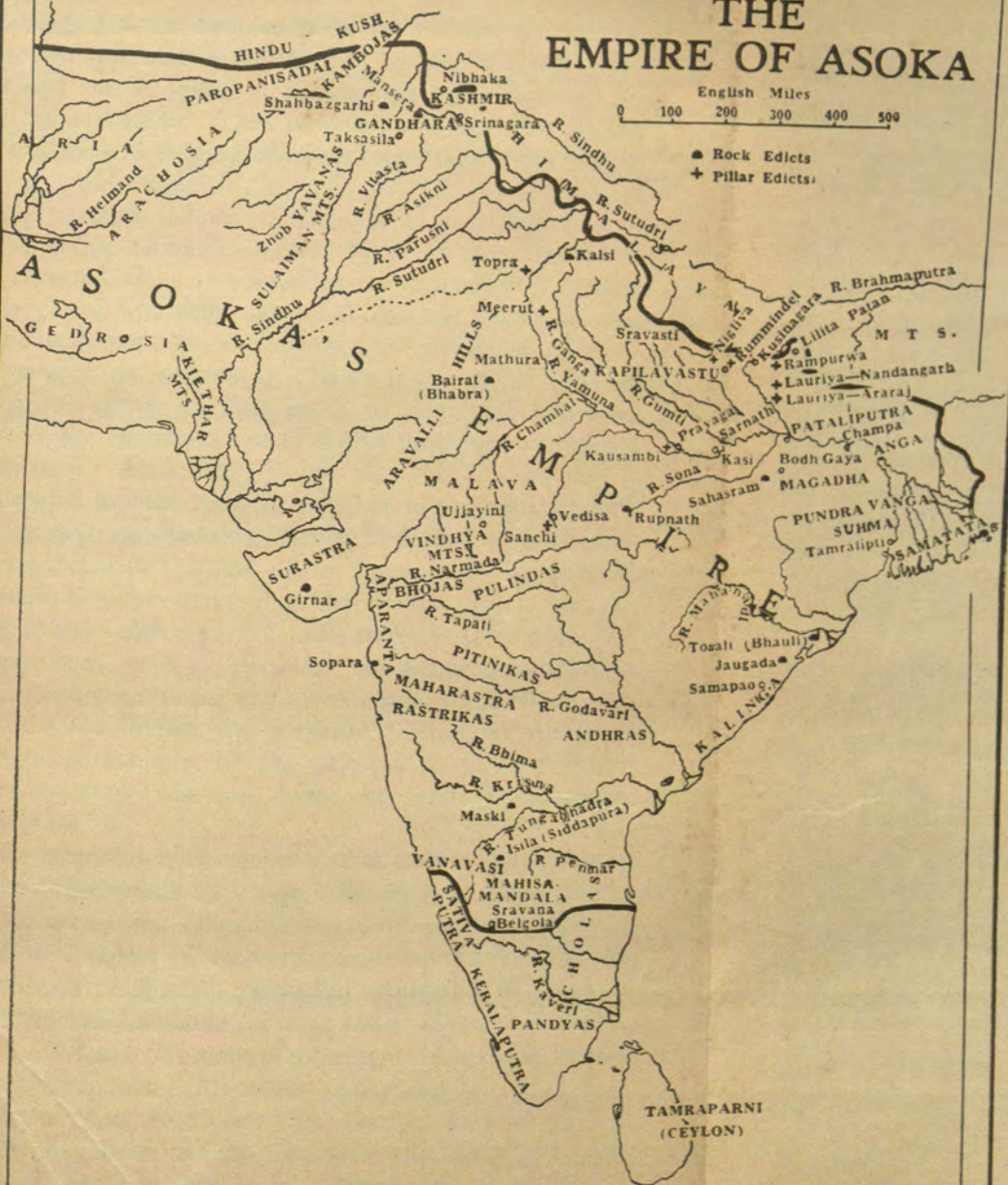


THE EMPIRE OF ASOKA

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

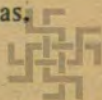
- Rock Edicts
- + Pillar Edicts



trees, digging wells, opening hospitals for men and beasts, in his own land and in the lands of his neighbours like the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, in Kerala and other countries as far south as Ceylon. This, however, was not all. As we shall see, Aśoka's religious missions found their way to many far-off countries, too.

As a staunch follower of Buddhism, he conferred large gifts upon the monastic establishments of the Buddhists. This attracted many non-Buddhists to the Buddhist Saṅgha for an easier life with the result that the purity of the Saṅgha suffered and consequently its periodical religious observances were interrupted. Hence it was decided to hold a religious synod at Pāṭaliputra to determine the true nature of the Dhamma, and to banish those who would not adhere to it. Apparently, it was after this Council that it was decided to send religious missions to various countries. One learns from Buddhist literary sources that such missions were sent to the land of the Yavanas (Ionian Greeks), Gandhāra, Kashmir, and the Himalayan regions in the North; to the western part of India such as Aparāntaka; the southern parts such as Vanavāsī and Mysore, and farther south to countries as far as Ceylon and Suvarṇa-bhūmi, the Land of Gold (Malay and Sumatra). These records dwell at length particularly on the mission to Ceylon, where Aśoka had sent his son Mahendra and his daughter Saṅghamitrā.

This information is confirmed and further supplemented by Aśoka's thirteenth rock edict wherein it is stated that he tried to spread the Dhamma not only in his territory or among the peoples of the border lands but also in kingdoms far off, such as those of Antiochus (Antiyoko) II, King of Syria, and the kingdoms of four other kings, still farther off, *i.e.*, Ptolemy (Turameya) of Egypt, Antigonos (Antakini) of Macedonia, Alexander (Alikasundara) of Epirus, an ancient district of northern Greece, and Magas of Cyrenia, in North Africa. He has also mentioned the names of Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāṇḍyas, Coḷas, Andhras,



Puliṇḍas, Ceylon, etc., in this context. In the second rock edict we are told that in practically all these countries, Aśoka had opened hospitals, both for men and beasts, had dug wells and tanks and planted trees and medicinal plants for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

It is clear that the efforts of Aśoka were largely responsible for the popularization of the teachings of the Buddha in and outside India. It is he who paved the way for the Buddhist missionaries—occasionally helped by kings like Kaniṣka—to take Buddhism to Central Asia, China, Japan and Tibet in the North, and to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and other countries in the South.

II. EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM

A. *In India*

During the first and second centuries after the Nirvāṇa, Buddhism could hardly be distinguished from other ascetic movements. It was evidently in the Maurya period that Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for expansion. But even at the beginning of this period, its activities were mainly confined to Magadha and Kośāla. Small communities of brethren may have come into existence also in the West, in Mathura and Ujjayinī. At the time of the Second Council, which was held at Vaisali about a hundred years after the Buddha, invitations were sent to communities in distant places like Pātheya, Avantī, Kauśāmbī, Sankāśya and Kanauj. Mathura had become an important centre of Buddhism in the early years of Maurya supremacy.

The history of the Buddhist Church in this period was to all appearances not an undisturbed one. Owing to the gradual expansion of Buddhism and for want of regular communications between the distant communities the Church was gradually losing its unity. Local influences were slowly affecting the conduct of the various communities and shaping them in different ways. This ultimately gave rise to various

schools. During the reign of Aśoka, the Church must have shown symptoms of serious disintegration and the inscriptions of Aśoka tell us that he took special measures to safeguard its unity.

Aśoka's patronage must have contributed to the spread of Buddhism not only within the empire but also to distant lands even in his lifetime. It is quite conceivable that after the reorganization of the Magadhan Church at the Third Council and with the co-operation of the emperor himself, efforts were made to carry Buddhism to distant countries. The success of the first missionary activity might not have been very great so far as foreign countries were concerned but the epigraphic records and Buddhist monuments of post-Aśokan times bear clear testimony to the fact that within the Maurya empire such activities must have had great success.

With the advent of the Śuṅgas, Buddhism lost official patronage. The Buddhist accounts are unanimous in representing Puṣyamitra Śuṅga as a persecutor of Buddhists. The temporary undermining of Buddhism by Puṣyamitra, however, was ineffective, for the people had taken up the cause of Buddhism. This popular support was at the root of the great progress made by Buddhism during the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period. This is made amply clear by the very large number of private donations recorded on the Buddhist monuments of the period. A number of famous Buddhist establishments like the Bhārhut stūpa, the Karle caves, and the Sanchi stūpa belong to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period and testify to the great prosperity which Buddhism enjoyed then. Buddhism had developed from a monastic religion into a popular one. It had become a theistic religion with the Buddha and his relics as cult objects.

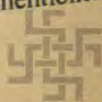
It was at this time that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the North. King Menander was a great champion of the faith. After he had established his capital at Śākala¹, he performed many acts of piety. From

1. Sāgalā mentioned at the commencement of the *Milinda-pañha*.



Menander's time the Greeks in India adopted Buddhism as their religion, and thereafter played the part of donors to Buddhist establishments. The Pali texts represent the Greeks as taking part even in missionary activities. We are told that after the conversion of the Yavana (Greek) country to Buddhism, Moggaliputta Tissa went to that country and selected a Greek Elder, Dharmarakṣita, for missionary work. Dharmarakṣita was then sent to the country of Aparāntaka where he successfully preached the Law of the Buddha and converted thousands of people, including women and nobles. The Greeks in India were also responsible for evolving a new style of Buddhist art, usually known as Indo-Greek, which flourished mostly in the Punjab and north-western India.

The rapid expansion of Buddhism during Aśoka's time to various parts of India resulted in the rise of Buddhist sects whose number is given as eighteen. The origin of these sects was not due so much to doctrinal differences, except in certain cases, as to the geographical factor. With the spread of Buddhism, communities were founded in various parts of the country. As there was no co-ordinating organization, many of the communities developed their own traditions for the preservation of the ancient teachings. In some cases, the differences between the schools were insignificant. That is why a number of them either disappeared or merged with the others within a short time. The Mahāsaṅghika during the second century after the Nirvāṇa gave rise to eight different schools, among which the Ekavyavahārika, the Lokottaravāda, the Aparāśaila, and the Uttaraśaila were prominent. Division started in the Sthaviravāda camp a century later. The first schism gave rise to two schools—the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla-sthaviravāda (also called the Haimavata). Since its inception in Vaisali, the Mahāsaṅghika was mostly confined to the East from where it spread, especially to the South. The followers of this school probably did not constitute a strong community in the North as they are mentioned



only in two inscriptions. The Mahāsaṅghika developed a literature of its own and in fact it claimed to have preserved the most authentic tradition of early Buddhism in so far as it traced its lineage from Mahākāśyapa who was responsible for convoking the first Buddhist Council, at which the Canon was recited for the first time according to tradition. The existence of practically all the branches of the Mahāsaṅghika mentioned in literature in the region of Dhānyakataka shows that it had become the most important stronghold of the Mahāsaṅghika under the patronage of the Śāta-vāhanas and their successors in the Krishna valley. These schools continued to prosper till the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The schools arising from the other camp, the Sthaviravāda, have also left their definite mark in literature and epigraphy from the Śūṅga period right up to the Kuṣāṇa period and may be said to have flourished from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The Sarvāstivāda and its branches flourished mostly in the North. The Sarvāstivāda school was held in esteem in the entire region from Mathura to Nagara(hāra) and from Takṣaśīlā to Kashmir.

Kaṇiṣka's reign is also a landmark in the history of Buddhism. Tradition not only represents him as a great patron of the religion but also associates him with a galaxy of Buddhist masters who shaped Buddhism in later times. It was in this period that the Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art achieved its greatest development. Buddhist monks from India carried Buddhism to Central Asia and China. A new form of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna, of far-reaching consequence, also came to be evolved at the same time. Kaṇiṣka must have contributed a good deal to the progress of Buddhism.

With the advent of the Gupta dynasty, Buddhism received a new impetus. Although the Gupta emperors were Bhāgavatas, the adherents of a Brahmanical faith, they were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. We have a number of important inscriptions recording



gifts of private donors in the regions of Kauśāmbī, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Mathura from the beginning of the 5th century A.D. till the end of the 6th. There is a large number of records, written by the Chinese pilgrims who came to India in this period, which throw light on the condition of Buddhism in the country. Moreover, Buddhist art with its relics at Mathura, Sarnath, Nalanda, Ajanta, Bāgh and Dhānyakāṭaka speaks eloquently of the prosperity that Buddhism enjoyed in the Gupta period. Fa-hien, who came to India during the reign of Chandragupta II, testifies to the flourishing condition of Buddhism, especially in Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Mathura, Kanauj, Kośala, Magadha and Tāmralipti. The foundation of the institutions at Nalanda was also due to the patronage of the Gupta rulers.

From the middle of the 7th century A.D. again we have a number of records giving a clear picture of the condition of Buddhism in India. So far as its extent is concerned, it had reached its height in this period but it also showed certain symptoms of decay. Nevertheless, some of the great centres of Buddhist study like Nalanda and Valabhī were still keeping the light burning vigorously. King Harṣavardhana in his later days became a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the West the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty at Valabhī had become patrons of the Buddhist faith from the middle of the 6th century A.D. Numerous Buddhist relics discovered at Valabhī testify to the existence of Buddhism in that area up to the 10th century A.D.

The century that followed Harṣa's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the patronage of the rulers. Buddhism still lingered in Kashmir, Swat Valley, Valabhī and other places in the North but its condition was far from prosperous. However, while Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India, it experienced another great revival in eastern



India under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty. Most of the rulers of this dynasty were devout Buddhists. They were responsible for new endowments to the Nalanda monastery and also for the foundation of new monasteries, such as Vikramaśīlā¹, Odantapurī and Somapurī.

Thus it may be concluded that, although some of the old centres of study had fallen into neglect before the rise of the Guptas, new and more vigorous centres came into existence under them. These new centres were numerous but, during the early Gupta period, Kashmir was the most predominant centre of Buddhist studies. Later, after the foundation of Nalanda, the centre of studies gradually shifted to eastern India. Nalanda dominated the whole Buddhist world for nearly three centuries, from the 6th to the 9th. In spite of the patronage of the great Pāla rulers, however, Nalanda was soon eclipsed by two other institutions, Vikramaśīlā and Odantapurī which had been founded under the Pālas. Eastern India, with its new institutions, Vikramaśīlā, Odantapurī, Jagaddala, Vikramapurī, etc., almost monopolized the commerce in Buddhist culture from the 9th to the 12th centuries A.D.

B. In Northern Countries

Central Asia and China

Although we do not know the definite date of the introduction of Buddhism to Central Asia, it is almost certain that the nomadic tribes, the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, as well as Indian merchants had carried elements of Indian culture with Buddhism to the different states of Eastern Turkestan at least a century before the Christian era. Positive evidence is now available to prove that small Indian colonies had been founded in the southern part of this region from Khotan up to the Labnor region before the Christian era. An Indian dialect, similar to that of north-western India, was the official language in some of these states. The

1. Also written Vikramaśīlā.



Indian colonists were the first to carry Buddhism to this region.

Ancient Khotanese traditions claim that a son of Aśoka named Kustana founded the kingdom 234 years after the Nirvāṇa, *i.e.*, about 240 B.C., and that it was the latter's grandson, Vijayasambhava, who introduced Buddhism in Khotan. A Buddhist scholar named Ārya Vairocana came from India and became the King's preceptor. The first monastery in Khotan was built in 211 B.C. The tradition further claims that an Indian dynasty ruled Khotan for 56 generations during which Buddhism continued to be the dominant religion of the state. In its heyday, Buddhism had in Khotan nearly four thousand establishments, including monasteries, temples and chapels. Chinese pilgrims, such as Fa-hien, Song-yun and Yuan Chwang, testify to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Khotan until about the 8th century A.D. Khotan became the place of the dissemination of Buddhism to other states in the South, such as Niya, Calmadana (Cherchen), Kroraina (Loulan), and also to Cokkuka (Kashgar).

There were four important states in the northern part of Chinese Turkestan, *viz.*, Bharuka (Aksu), Kucha, Agnideśa (Kara-shahr) and Kao-chang (Turfan). Kucha was the most powerful among the four states and played a preponderant role in the spread of Buddhism to other northern states as well as to China. Kucha must have received Buddhism in the 1st century A.D. The Chinese annals of the 3rd century clearly state that there were nearly one thousand stūpas and temples in Kucha in this period. Kuchean Buddhist monks had gone to China in this period and took an active part in the work of translation of Buddhist texts. Archaeological finds show that Buddhism was a flourishing religion in the North till about the 8th century A.D. After the decline of these states, Buddhism was patronized till the 11th century A.D. by the Uigur Turks who had their capital in the Turfan region.

China received Buddhism from the nomadic tribes of Eastern Turkestan towards the end of the 1st century B.C.,



and within a century it was officially recognized as a religion worthy of toleration. Buddhist scholars began coming to China from the end of the 1st century after Christ and their activities were intensified more and more. But throughout the Han period (65—220 A.D.), although a number of scholars had come to China, worked among the Chinese and translated a fairly large number of texts into Chinese, Buddhism had a hard struggle with the indigenous religious systems. Confucianism, with its traditional prestige at the Court and its hold on the nobility, looked down upon Buddhism as a barbarian religion. In the Han period attempts were made to transform Confucianism into a religion but its religious character was much less developed than Buddhism. Taoism was more firmly established as a religion but its philosophical background was much weaker than that of Buddhism. This gave Buddhism certain advantages over the indigenous religions.

As Buddhism was a much richer religion than Confucianism and as it possessed a much profounder philosophy than Taoism, it soon attracted the Chinese. The Chinese literati themselves started pleading for Buddhism. Thus Mou-tseu, who lived towards the closing years of the Han period (170 — 225 A.D.), wrote a treatise in which he compared the doctrines of Buddhism with the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tseu and tried to establish the superiority of the former.

The writings of such people as Mou-tseu gradually succeeded in creating confidence about Buddhism in the minds of the educated Chinese. Besides, the life of purity followed by the Indian Buddhists who had come to China and by their Chinese disciples did not fail to attract the Chinese to this new faith. The patronage of the foreign dynasties in China also helped the cause of the new religion. The Wei dynasty which came to power in the 4th century A.D. was of foreign origin. They were great patrons of Buddhism and were responsible for the beginnings of all the great works of Buddhist art in that country. The first emperor of the dynasty made Buddhism a State religion.



Henceforward, Buddhism continued to prosper in China until about the 11th century A.D. Successions of Indian teachers from India kept the torch burning. From the 4th century A.D., however, the Chinese monks themselves started going to India and making a deep study of Buddhism under Indian teachers. A vast Buddhist literature, translated from Indian sources by Indian and Chinese scholars, helped the Chinese to read Buddhism in translation. Some of the translations also had great literary value and came to be looked upon as classics in Chinese literature.

The influence of Buddhism on Chinese life and thought was tremendous. Besides certain forms of theistic religious beliefs, Buddhism introduced in China the doctrine of rebirth, the idea of causality, and the belief in reward and retribution. Buddhist philosophy, especially its conception of reality which permeates everything in nature and the notion of universal impermanence, had an abiding influence on the poets and artists and influenced China's aesthetic outlook. Buddhism also brought to the Chinese a deep religious feeling and a profound faith, which inspired the great works of art in China, such as we find in Yun-Kang, Hung-men, Tun-huang and other places.¹

Korea and Japan

Korea, one of the important Buddhist countries in the Far East, was introduced to Buddhism early in the 4th century A.D. In those days, the Korean peninsula was divided into three parts, namely, Koguryu in the North, Pakche in the South-West and Silla in the South-East. The history of Buddhism in these three parts of Korea is therefore not identical. Buddhism was first brought to Koguryu by a Chinese monk in 372 A.D. It was twelve years later that Buddhism came to Pakche through the agency of a Central Asian monk named Mārānanda. Silla was the last to embrace Buddhism which came nearly 30 years after it had been introduced in Koguryu.

1. For further information see Chapter VI, pp. 124-131.

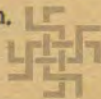


The chief significance of Korean Buddhism lies in the role it played as an intermediary between China and Japan, for, although Buddhism received royal patronage almost throughout its history in Korea, there was no notable development in its doctrine.

Korean Buddhism was at the height of its power in the 11th century A.D. during the rule of the Wang dynasty of Korea. Before this period, Buddhism had been spreading under the influence of the kings of the Silla dynasty. At this time, several famous scholars went to China in order to study the Buddhist doctrines. Of these, Yuan Ts'o (613--683 A.D.) of the Fa Sian sect, Yuan Hiao (617--670 A.D.) and Yi Siang (625--702 A.D.) of the Houa Yen sect are the best known. After the 11th century A.D., Buddhism, which had hitherto been the religion of the aristocracy related to the Silla dynasty, became the faith of the common people, owing largely to the efforts of Yi T'ien, P'u Chao and a number of other monks. Yi T'ien, a scholar famous for his editing of the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka (called Yi T'ien-Lu), studied Buddhism in China and then propagated the doctrine of both the Houa Yen and the T'ien T'ai sects in Korea. He also wrote articles on Buddhism in the Korean language. However, it was P'u Chao who introduced Korea to Zen Buddhism which, in later days, was to play such an important part in its history. During the period when the Yuan dynasty of the Mongolian Empire had gained sovereignty over the Wang dynasty, Korean Buddhism was much influenced by Lamaism. After the decline of the Mongolian Empire, the Rhee dynasty of Chosen (Korea) accepted Confucianism as the leading principle of its culture and thus dislodged Buddhism from its place of honour. Nevertheless, even though it lost royal patronage in Korea, Buddhism continued to flourish as the religion of the masses.

Modern Korean Buddhism is, in fact, Zen Buddhism tinged with a belief in Amitābha Buddha or Maitreya Bodhisattva.

Japan has been called the land of Mahāyāna Buddhism.



This form of Buddhism originally flourished in China and travelled to Japan *via* Korea. Thereafter Buddhism developed through the efforts of both Chinese and Japanese monks. It is generally held by Japanese scholars that Buddhism first made its appearance in the year 552 A.D. and that it came from Kudara (Pakche), one of the kingdoms of Korea.

For our purpose, the historical division of Japanese Buddhism can be made as follows:—

- (i) The period of importation. 6th century to 7th century A.D. (The Asuka and Nara period.)
- (ii) The period of nationalization. 9th century to 14th century A.D. (The Heian and Kamakura period.)
- (iii) The period of continuation. 15th century to 20th century A.D. (The Muromachi, Momoyama, and Edo period, and the modern age.)

(i) *The period of importation.*—The first manifestations of Buddhism in Japan consisted chiefly in adapting it to Shintoism, a native cult of Japan. For this purpose, Buddhist monks accepted ancestor worship and admitted, side by side with the Buddha's image, the gods of Shintoism on the ground that these represented the various incarnations of the Buddha. In this manner Buddhism was able gradually to establish itself among the common people without rejecting Shintoism outright.

An important advantage was that when Buddhism first made its appearance in Japan, it was introduced along with the highly developed culture of China. It was largely because of its cultural character that Buddhism was accepted by the aristocracy, which was the intellectual class of Japan in those days. Once it was patronized by the aristocracy, Buddhism rapidly spread throughout the country. Several emperors of ancient Japan adopted Buddhism and accepted its tenets as their guiding principles in life. Prince Shotoku (574—621 A.D.), Regent of the Empress Suiko, made a great contribution to Buddhism by founding the Horyuji monastery and by writing commentaries on three scriptures. In fact,



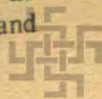
he did for Buddhism in Japan what King Aśoka had done for it in India, and what Constantine did for Christianity in the Roman Empire.

The sects introduced from China in those days were six in number: Kusha (the Abhidharma-kośa school), Sanron (the Three-Treatise school of the Mādhyamika), Jōjitsu (the Satyasiddhi-śāstra school), the Kegon (the Avataṃsaka school), Hosso (the Dharma-lakṣaṇa school) and Ritsu (the Vinaya school). It would, however, be better to call these Buddhist institutions rather than religious sects.

(ii) *The period of nationalization.*—The second period of Japanese Buddhism began with the founding of two new sects, the Tendai and the Shingon, by Saichō (767–822 A.D.) and Kūkai (774–835 A.D.), respectively. Their object was to nationalize Buddhist doctrines in order to make Buddhism a religion of the common people. At the same time, they aimed at disciplining the monks in Buddhist monasteries who kept aloof from the everyday world. The dominant feature of these two sects is that they laid stress not merely on spiritual salvation, but also on the fulfilment of the doctrine in this world.

By dint of the efforts of both the Tendai and the Shingon monks, Buddhism became nationalized and gradually gained in popularity. However, a number of problems remained to be solved. The doctrines were still too scholarly to be easily understood by the common people, who tended to accept only the superstitions attached to them. Furthermore, as the environment changed with the spread of Buddhism, it induced many people to give up this world in order to seek spiritual rest in the world beyond.

A new Buddhist movement arose in the 10th century A.D. in the form of belief in Amitābha Buddha. Many people were converted to this faith, and they simply recited the name of Amitābha Buddha with the object of being re-born in his Pure Land. This movement was followed by independent new sects which also emphasized belief in Amitābha. The new sects, which arose during the 12th and



13th centuries, were as follows: Yuzu-nenbutsu, founded by Ryonin (1072—1132 A.D.), Jodo, founded by Honen (1133—1212 A.D.), Jodo-shin, founded by Shinran (1173—1262 A.D.), and the Ji, founded by Ippen (1239—1289 A.D.). The factors common to these sects were to be found in the definition of laymanship and in the efforts to purify and simplify both doctrine and practice. Owing to these features, they were able to attract many followers from among the farmers, peasants and warriors.

The Kamakura period, during which these sects came into being, coincided with the rise of feudalism in Japan. It was also in this period that two new sects made their appearance. One was the Zen, introduced by Eisai (1141—1215 A.D.) and Dogen (1200—1253 A.D.), and the other was the Nichiren, founded by Nichiren (1222—1282 A.D.). These two sects also shared the same characteristics as those of the Pure Land sects mentioned above, although there was a remarkable contradiction in their principles. One believed in salvation through faith in the power of others, the underlying philosophy of Pure Land Buddhism, and the other in the doctrine of salvation through one's own enlightenment on which the Zen and the Nichiren sects are based. Zen Buddhism found its adherents mainly among the warriors, and influenced Japanese culture considerably.

The rise of these new sects resulted in the complete acceptance of Buddhism by the common people. The various stages of this process are so clearly demarcated that terms such as nationalization and popularization signify epoch-making landmarks in the history of Japanese Buddhism. For this reason, modern Japanese scholars are apt to draw special attention to the Kamakura period in which Buddhism was completely absorbed by Japan.

(iii) *The period of continuation.*—After the Kamakura period, there was no significant development in Japanese Buddhism other than the expansion of the various sects.

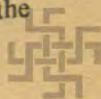
During the Edo period (1603—1867 A.D.), Buddhism acquired the character of a national religion in Japan under

the protection of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The chief reason for this development was that the Government hoped thereby to undermine the influence of Christianity upon the life of the Japanese people. In this period, Buddhism became popular, so that towards the close of this era Buddhist activities took the form of scholarly studies in Buddhism, which laid the foundation of modern Buddhist studies.

Having lost its protector after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 A.D., Buddhism faced the risk of being deprived of public support on account of the hostility of nationalistic Shintoism. Fortunately, this risk was obviated by the efforts of both monks and laymen. Furthermore, the Government guaranteed freedom of religion under the Constitution. At the same time, many monks who had investigated the doctrines of Buddhism scientifically tried to find a 'new' meaning in the 'old' doctrines. It may also be noted that some Buddhist missionaries went over to America, Hawaii, and other countries to propagate Buddhism in the light of modern studies in Buddhism.

Tibet (Central) and Ladakh

That the teachings of Buddhism, wherever they spread, were able to arouse a new historical consciousness in the people's minds is nowhere seen so vividly as in Tibet. Just as Indian history begins to be recorded in writing from the days of the great Buddhist emperor, Aśoka, Tibetan history, too, begins to be written down from the reign of Tibet's most gifted ruler, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (born in 617 A.D.), who first conceived the idea of reducing spoken Tibetan to a system of alphabetic writing to facilitate the coming of Buddhism from India into his own country. Cultural contacts of Tibet with the Buddhist world surrounding her, namely, India, Khotan, Mongolia, China and Burma, must, however, have been established at least two centuries before him. According to a plausible Tibetan legend, for instance, some Buddhist missionaries from India had approached the



Tibetan King, Tho-tho-ri, with presents of Buddhist books, but had to return disappointed as none at the royal court could make out what they meant, since alphabetic script was unknown in Tibet! The precocious young prince, Sroñ-btsan, suffering from a sense of isolation and inferiority, must have felt keenly the urge to find all possible ways of removing the backwardness of his people, because when he came to the throne he resolutely increased his military prestige to such an extent, that King Aṃśuvarman of Nepal in the South, and later the powerful Chinese emperor, T'ai-tsung, in the North, thought it wise to seek an alliance with him and respect his ardent wishes by giving their own royal princesses to him in marriage. These two queens, Bhrūkuṭī of Nepal and Wen-Ch'eng of China, bringing with them to Lhasa the images of Akṣobhya, Maitreya and Śākyamuni as gifts from their respective homes, greatly helped him achieve his ambition to bring his people to the forefront of civilization by introducing Buddhism into Tibet. In fact, before he contracted these marriages the king had taken steps to deserve such high matrimonial alliances. He had selected a brilliant Tibetan of his court, Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa, with sixteen other aspirants, to go down to the famous seats of learning in southern India to study Indian epigraphy, phonetics and grammar, and after having mastered these subjects to invent an alphabetic script for the Tibetan language, and establish its grammatical structure. Thon-mi fulfilled the task entrusted to him so well that besides composing eight independent treatises on Tibetan writing and grammar, he also prepared the first Tibetan translations of certain Sanskrit Buddhist works, so that he came to be recognized for all time as the father of Tibetan literature. During his lifetime Sroñ-btsan promulgated laws to harmonize with the Ten Virtues prescribed by Buddhism. He built the famous temples of Ramoche and Jokhang in Lhasa, and the grand architecture of the eleven-storeyed palace, called the Potala, also preserves to this day the remains of an original smaller structure, begun by him.

in one of its lower apartments. Buddhism with some of its cultural advances and paraphernalia was thus brought to Tibet to replace the old animistic and Phön religious beliefs. The credit of ushering in a new Buddhistic era in the history of Tibet thus goes to the first great monarch of Tibet, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, who was a contemporary of Muhammad, the founder of Islam, Emperor Harṣa of Kanauj and the famous pilgrim-scholar, Yuan Chwang of China.

Although Buddhism had come to Tibet under such favourable auspices, it did not take root in a foreign soil as easily or quickly as Sroñ-btsan might have wished. It had to wage an incessant and arduous struggle for over three centuries against indigenous Phön beliefs. It had also to remove old superstitions, make compromises, adapt its own doctrines to the strange customs and traditions which had come down from time immemorial, and suffer setbacks and banishment until the days of Atiśa¹ in the eleventh century, when at last Buddhism may be said to have truly become the national religion of Tibet.

After Sroñ-btsan, the establishment of Buddhism as a State religion occurred in the reign of his fifth successor, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan (755—797 A.D.), who, in spite of the opposition of his powerful Phön officials, was able to invite the learned Śāntarakṣita of Nalanda University to Tibet, to spread the genuine teachings of Indian Buddhism among his people and introduce regular conversions. Śāntarakṣita's eloquent sermons on the doctrines of the Ten Virtues and of the Chain of Causal Phenomena, however, fell upon deaf ears. Certain natural calamities like storms and epidemics, which raged at this juncture, were interpreted by his antagonists as being the result of his perverse teachings, and the King had to advise him to leave Tibet for some time to escape the anger and prejudice of the masses. The Indian teacher was wise enough to see that only a man well versed in the esoteric methods and beliefs of Tantrism could make some impression on the people, steeped as they seemed

1. Also written Atiśa.



to be in primitive sorcery and charlatanism. Accordingly, he recommended that Padmasambhava, the powerful apostle of Tantrism, should be invited from Urgyan in the Swat Valley to repay the oppositionists in their own coin, until he could return to Tibet to complete his mission of re-establishing faith in the enlightened teachings of Buddhism; and the great respect in which the Tibetans hold the memory of Padmasambhava (otherwise called Guru Rinpoche by them) to this day is a testimony of the success he attained in this undertaking. Among other outstanding events of the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan may be mentioned his victory over the Chinese armies, celebrated in a pillar inscription in front of the Potala and the foundation of the first great Tibetan monastery at Bsam-yas on the model of the Udyantapurī in Bihar. Another was the preparation of the first catalogue of the translated Buddhist works in the Ldan-dkar palace and a reorganization of the translation activity on sound lines by Śāntarakṣita after his return to Tibet, where he died towards the end of the eighth century A.D. after long and distinguished missionary service. After the death of Śāntarakṣita, who always emphasized the constructive aspect of the Buddhist teachings, the nihilistic traditions of Buddhist philosophy propagated by some Chinese monks seem to have gained the upper hand in Tibet, and to meet their challenge the King invited Śāntarakṣita's able disciple and commentator, Kamalaśīla from Nalanda, to deal with them. A debate was held between the two parties in the presence of the King, and Kamalaśīla was declared to have won. The feelings among the defeated partisans of the Chinese philosopher monk were, however, so embittered that the Indian scholar was murdered. His body was embalmed and is still preserved in a monastery to the north of Lhasa. King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, who for his prowess and learning was regarded by his countrymen as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, died broken-hearted soon afterwards, leaving the heritage of a powerful Buddhist kingdom to his sensitive and idealistic son, Mu-ne-btsan-po. The Buddhist teachings

of mercy and equality had so touched the heart of this imaginative prince that, as soon as he came to the throne, he began to distribute wealth equally among his subjects. His plan did not work satisfactorily because dignity of work had not been given due importance, and inequalities inevitably crept in again. After a brief period of unpopular regime, his own relations poisoned him and set up his brother, Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan, on the throne. He is known to have given a fresh impetus to the work of translating Indian works into Tibetan by patronizing the composition and publication of the first Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary called the *Mahāvyutpatti* (circa 814 A.D.).

Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan named his younger son, Ral-pa-chen (816—838 A.D.), his own successor, in preference to his elder son, Glan-dar-ma. Ral-pa-chen is remembered by his countrymen as the third great royal protector of religion in the golden age of Tibetan Buddhism. His devotion to Buddhism was so extraordinary that he made his young son take monastic vows, gave various kinds of privileges and administrative authority to the priesthood and even allowed his long locks of hair to be used as a mat by the Buddhist abbots sitting around him to deliver religious sermons. Ral-pa-chen extended the boundaries of his kingdom, and the first history of Tibet came to be written under his patronage.

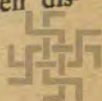
Monarchical rule in Tibet, as well as the prestige of Buddhism, which had hitherto contributed so much towards its prosperity, suffered a setback, when one day Ral-pa-chen came to be murdered by the supporters of his superseded elder brother, Glan-dar-ma. The latter then came to the throne as a professed enemy of Buddhism in Tibet. Buddhist images were buried, monasteries closed, religious ceremonies banned and monks forced to return to the life of laymen on pain of banishment from the country. Such excesses created deep resentment everywhere, and retribution came when one day a monk quietly rode up to the king and killed him with a well-aimed dart (841 A.D.).

Glan-dar-ma's ruthless suppression of Buddhism, which



resulted in this violent outburst of public feeling, marks a decisive period in the annals of Tibetan politics, inasmuch as it sounded the death knell of monarchical rule in Tibet. The banished priesthood returned to central Tibet and became more powerful than ever. The weak successors of Glan-dar-ma lost their hold on their dependencies and disintegration set in. Finally, the son of the last king of Lhasa, Dpal-hkhor-btsan (906—23 A.D.), took farewell of the capital and migrated to western Tibet, where he established himself as an independent ruler. He brought the three districts of Ladakh, Spurang and Guge under his control and later distributed them among his three sons. Among the successors of these three royal branches, we find several distinguished rulers, who kept the light of Buddhism burning vigorously in western Tibet by patronizing learned monks, sending Tibetan scholars to Kashmir to study the latest developments in Buddhist doctrine, and furthering the translation of important Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. One of the most distinguished among them was Hkhor-lde (also known as Jñānaprabha). He renounced his throne in favour of his younger brother to become a monk along with his two sons and played an important part in persuading the great Ācārya Atiśa (otherwise called Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna) of the Vikramaśīlā monastery in Bihar to come and live as a teacher of Buddhism in Tibet. In the 11th century A.D., Atiśa may be said to have brought the last great spiritual impetus from India, with the result that Buddhism struck deep roots in Tibetan soil and thenceforward flourished as an indigenous mode of religious and philosophical thought. The successors of Tibetan kings continued to rule in western Tibet, through various political vicissitudes which that part of Tibet underwent, and the direct descendants of the mighty Sron-btsan-sgam-po, the first historical ruler of Tibet in Lhasa, still live in Ladakh.

The life and work of Atiśa in Tibet are too important to be dealt with summarily and have therefore been dis-



cussed separately.¹ From the time he came to Tibet, Tibetan Buddhism developed into different indigenous schools. In relation to these, the earlier heterogenous and unreformed type of Buddhism came to be called Rñiñ-ma-pa or the Old School with four main sub-sects. The followers of this school worship Padmasambhava as their founder and guru, believe in the fulfilment of both the divine and the demoniacal, and are generally recognized as such by their red caps. Atiśa's reformed teachings, based upon the Yogācāra traditions founded by Maitreya and Asaṅga, led to the establishment of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa school by his Tibetan disciple, Hbrom-ston. It took a synthetic view of the teachings of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, enforced celibacy upon the monks and discouraged magic practices. It was on the authoritative basis of this doctrine that the great Tibetan reformer, Tsoñ-kha-pa, founded in the 14th century A.D. the Dge-lugs-pa (originally called Dgaḥ-ldan-pa) sect, which purified the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa of much of its elaborate ritualism and today dominates Tibetan Buddhism, both temporally and spiritually, through the religious succession of the Dalai Lamas, of whom the fourteenth is now the head of this theocracy.

Two other schools, closely allied with the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa but with a less ascetic outlook came to be founded in the latter half of the 11th century A.D., namely Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa and Sa-skyapa.

The Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa (Oral Traditionalism) was founded by the Tibetan Lama Mar-pa, a friend of Atiśa and a disciple of the Indian Tantrist, Nāropā, of Nalanda University. It has some affinities with the Dhyāna school, to which most of the Northern Buddhists of Japan and China belong at present, and among its distinguished representatives is Mi-la-ras-pa, the great hermit poet of Tibet, who was initiated in the mysteries of supernatural powers by Mar-pa himself. The Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa later divided itself into several sub-sects, two of which, namely, Karma-pa and

1. See Chapter IX.



Hbrug-pa, may be specially mentioned. The third Head of the Karma-pa called Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje was recognized at his birth as the spiritual successor of the second Head of the sect, called Karma-bak-si, who had died two years earlier. Since this incident the practice of spiritual succession came into vogue. Thus, in the selection of the Dalai Lama, the Panchan Lama and others, a recognized incarnation succeeds to the office instead of a hereditary successor or disciple. The Karma-pa is particularly strong in Sikkim and its followers in Nepal are called the Kārmika. The second sub-sect, Hbrug-pa (or the Thunderer), spread its doctrines so vigorously in Bhutan that the country adopted its Tibetan name for its own people.

The second school, Sa-skyapa, derives its name "Grey Earth" from the colour of the soil where its first monastery was built in 1071 A.D. on the site of the present Sa-skya. The Sa-skyapa was even more closely related with the old Rñiñ-ma-pa school than the Bkañ-rgyud-pa and the monks of this sect were not celibate either. They sought a synthesis between the old and the new Tantrism on the basis of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika philosophy and had already developed into a powerful hierarchy before the rise of the great Tsoñ-kha-pa.

Greatly devoted to learning, they proved themselves excellent proselytizers when they came into contact with the Mongol emperors in the 13th century A.D. One of the distinguished Sa-skya hierarchs, called Hphags-pa, became the spiritual teacher of Prince Khubilai of Mongolia, who, on coming to the throne as the first Mongol emperor of China, conferred the sovereignty of central Tibet upon the High Priest of Sa-skya (1270 A.D.). This was the beginning of a new era of theocratic rule in Tibet. The Sa-skyapa produced many eminent Tibetan scholars, among whom the famous Bu-ston (1290—1364 A.D.) ranks high. He was not only a renowned commentator of fundamental Buddhist treatises and an authoritative historian, but also the first collector of all the existing Tibetan translations of



Buddhist works. He arranged them systematically into two comprehensive groups, called the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (the Word of the Buddha) in 100 volumes, and the *Bstan-hgyur* (the Treatises) in 225 volumes. These have come down to us as the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian and author (born in 1573 A.D.), also belonged to a sect called Jo-nang, which was an offshoot of the Sa-skyapa. With the rise of the great reformer, Tson-kha-pa, born in the province of Amdo in 1358 A.D., the modern age of Tibetan Buddhism may be said to have begun. With striking powers of organization and comprehensive intelligence, he set himself the task of removing all deviations and superstitious beliefs and establishing a strong order of Buddhist monks, based on sound learning, discipline and celibacy, which came to be recognized as the *Dge-lugs-pa* (the 'School of the Virtuous', popularly described as the Yellow Hats). In 1408 he founded, not far from Lhasa, the Ganden monastery, where he worked for some years and died in 1419 A.D. The other two great monasteries, Depung and Sera, near Lhasa, and Tashi-lhumpo, in the Tsang province, share between them the highest religious power and prestige. They were all founded by his disciples within the next fifty years. These centres of learning continued the work of religious propagation in Mongolia and Siberia so ably and enthusiastically that after the power of the pioneering Sa-skyapas had dwindled through internal feuds and rivalries, the *Dge-lugs-pas* came to be favoured by the powerful Mongol chieftains as spiritual leaders and later as temporal rulers of Tibet. When he met their third hierarch, Bsod-nams-rgya-mtso (1546—1587 A.D.), the ruler of Thumed Mongolia, Altan Khan, became convinced that both of them were respectively the teacher *Hphags-pa* and his disciple, the great emperor Khubilai Khan, in their former births and immediately recognized the former as the veritable Tālē (i.e., Dalai, Tib. *rgya-mtso*) meaning 'the ocean'. Thenceforth, all the hierarchs came to be recognized as Dalai Lamas. The most distinguished of them was the Great Fifth Dalai



Lama (1615—1680 A.D.), upon whom the sovereignty of the whole country was conferred by the Mongolian chief, Gusri Khan, who finally wiped out all opposition from Tsang and the other provinces of Tibet. After the preceding period of about seventy years, during which the High Priests of Sa-skya reigned as kings over a small part of the country, the recognition of the full and divine sovereignty of the Dalai Lama over the whole of Tibet must be considered as a turning point in Tibetan history. Sanskrit books on grammar, medicine, and other subjects continued to be translated into Tibetan under the rule of this able and widely travelled Dalai Lama. His chief Minister, Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtso, succeeded in keeping his death a secret for several years in the interests of public welfare, and conducted the affairs of the state in his name so efficiently that he is remembered as one of the wisest statesmen Tibet has ever produced. The Seventh Dalai Lama (1708—1758 A.D.) was known for his deep learning, tolerance and asceticism. His reign was marked by the visits of Capuchin and Jesuit missionaries to Lhasa, but religious and cultural relations with India seem at this period to have fallen into oblivion, mainly because of foreign domination and the consequent disappearance of the old order in India itself. Hereafter follows in Tibetan history a period of isolation and political intrigue and of short-lived Dalai Lamas until we come down to the present age of Asian reawakening, of Indian independence and of a revaluation of the ancient ideals of Buddhism, which have nourished the life instincts of Tibet throughout her chequered career of over thirteen centuries.

Nepal

As the home of Śākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, Nepal occupies a unique position among the Buddhist countries of the world. Gautama, the son of a Śākya prince, was born (544 B.C.) at Lumbini, about 15 miles from his father's residence in the Nepalese city of Kapilavastu. Early in life, he left his father's kingdom in search of Truth. After



he had attained enlightenment at Bodh Gaya, he delivered his first sermon at Sarnath, and subsequently returned home to declare his revelation to his own kinsmen, among whom his son Rāhula became one of his earliest converts. In this brief reference to Nepal, it may be mentioned that in the 3rd century B.C. Aśoka, while yet a prince, is reported to have successfully quelled a rebellion among one of the races of Nepal and restored peace and order. His later visit to Lumbinī and the erection of an inscribed pillar to commemorate the sacred birth-place of the Buddha is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism. Thereafter, his daughter, Cārumatī, is said to have married a Nepalese nobleman, and built several stūpas and monasteries in Nepal, of which there are still remnants. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the disciplinary rules applicable to the monks in the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism in Nepal reveal certain special concessions in view of the rigid climatic conditions of that region, which is indicative of the wide prevalence of Buddhist monastic life in this country. The great Buddhist philosopher of the 4th century A.D., Ācārya Vasubandhu, is also said to have visited Nepal in order to propagate his own doctrine.

Nepal seems to have attained real prominence as a strong supporter and propagator of the Buddhist faith from the days of King Aṃśuvarman in the 7th century A.D. He gave his daughter in marriage to the first powerful king of Tibet, Sron-btsam-sgam-po, and among the batch of pioneers who undertook to translate Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan under the latter's patronage, the name of a Nepalese paṇḍita, Śīlamañju, is mentioned. In the age of Śāntarakṣita (8th and 9th centuries A.D.) strong ties of religious and cultural friendship appear to have developed between these two countries. In the succeeding centuries, when Muslim invasions of Bihar and Bengal resulted in the wholesale devastation of the rich Buddhist monasteries of those regions, Buddhist monks found a safe refuge in Nepal. They took with them a large number of valuable manus-

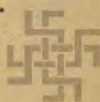


cripts, some of which also found their way to the monasteries in Tibet, where they are carefully preserved to this day. In the intervening centuries, Nepal probably developed still closer cultural and even political ties with the western parts of Tibet, but this period of history has not yet been sufficiently explored. For centuries Nepal has served as a cultural link between the regions lying on both sides of the mid-Himalayan range, and until recently the normal road of communication between India and Tibet led through Nepal, *via* Kyirong.

After Buddhism had dwindled in India, the popular form of Nepalese Buddhism gradually shed some of its original characteristics, such as monastic life, opposition to caste distinctions, and discouragement of all religious mysteries, thus becoming effete as a distinct spiritual force. Until recently, four main sects of Buddhist philosophy, each with several sub-sects, have been prominent, namely, (1) Svābhāvika, which emphasizes the fact that all things in the world have their own ultimate characteristic which is expressed in two ways, *i.e.*, *pravṛtti* (evolution) and *nivṛtti* (involution); (2) Aiśvarika, which puts its faith in a self-existent God, who is perfect and infinite; (3) Kārmika, which believes in a conscious moral effort through which the world-phenomenon is developed on the fundamental basis of *avidyā*; and (4) Yātrika, which believes in the existence of conscious intellectual agency and free will. This represents an almost complete fusion of various philosophical trends which originated in India and Tibet under the influence of both Hinduism and Buddhism.¹

Thus Nepal, lying under the shadow of some of the tallest peaks of the Himalayas, claims to be a source of great spiritual inspiration and has prized freedom and tolerance above everything.

1. Of late, a revival of Buddhist studies of the Theravāda school has taken place in Nepal and under the auspices of the Dharmodaya Sabha, Buddhist monks from Ceylon, or Nepalese monks trained in Ceylon, have taken an active lead in the propagation of their faith. They have published in the local dialect translations of several popular sūtras from Pali literature.



C. In Southern Countries

Ceylon

According to the tradition preserved in the Ceylonese Chronicles, the great emperor Aśoka (c. 273—236 B.C.)¹ organized a network of missions to preach the gospel of the Buddha in and outside India. He sent his son (or brother) Thera Mahendra, together with four others, to Laṅkā or Ceylon, and they preached the teachings of Gautama Buddha to king Devānampiyatissa (247—207 B.C.) and his attendants. The king and the people of Ceylon were deeply impressed by the new gospel and accepted Buddhism. Its progress was phenomenal. Hundreds of thousands of men and women embraced the new faith and thousands entered the Saṅgha and adopted the life of bhikṣus. Monasteries were erected on all sides and rich endowments were made for their upkeep. Queen Anulā and a number of women also expressed the desire to receive the pabbajjā ordination and enter the Saṅgha. But as no monk was allowed to do this for them, emissaries were sent to Emperor Aśoka to send some distinguished nuns to help them. So Saṅghamitrā, the sister of Mahendra, who had received ordination, was sent to Ceylon.

Two great events in the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon left a deep impression and still evoke pious enthusiasm among millions of its votaries. The transplantation of a branch of the Bodhi tree under which Gautama attained Buddhahood was a happy idea of Aśoka. This served as an inspiration to the people who had recently embraced the Buddhist religion. The second event was the bringing of the Buddha's tooth from India more than 500 years later.

Thus, within a short time, the whole of the island of Ceylon became a stronghold of Buddhism, a position which

1. There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the dates of the various kings mentioned in this section. The dates given are taken from the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II—IV (Bombay), where the different views are discussed, and reasons given for adopting a particular date.



she still retains after the lapse of more than two thousand years.

The Great Stūpa was built during the reign of Duṭṭha-gāmaṇī (101—77 B.C.) and consecrated before a large assembly of Buddhist monks who had come from well-known monasteries in India. The list of names, with other details, is given in the Mahāvamsa.

The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (c. 29—17 B.C.) is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Up to this time the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, as originally recited by Mahendra, were committed to memory and preserved as oral traditions. Arrangements were now made to commit them to writing, and five hundred reciters and scribes were employed for the purpose. The Pali Tripiṭaka, which was the result of their labour, still survives as the sacred canon of which the original disappeared long ago from India without leaving any trace.

It is impossible to overrate the influence exercised by Buddhism in Ceylon. Practically her whole culture and civilization were derived from it. Pali became the literary language of Ceylon and still holds that position. Ceylonese literature was an offshoot of Indian literature, and the art of Ceylon—architecture, sculpture and painting—was derived from India. The Ceylonese alphabet also came from India.

On the other hand, the Buddhist world owes a great debt to Ceylon. As mentioned above, the Pali Canon has been preserved in its entirety in this island and Ceylonese Buddhism had great influence upon Burma, Cambodia, Siam and Laos, the only other countries where Theravāda Buddhism flourishes today. Ceylon was not, however, merely a passive recipient; it contributed to the development of Buddhism through its Commentaries.¹

Burma

According to the tradition preserved in the Ceylonese Chronicles, two Buddhist monks, named Soṇa and Uttara,

1. See Chapter IX.



were sent by Emperor Aśoka to preach Buddhism in Suvarṇa-bhūmi, which is generally identified with Burma. There is, however, no reliable evidence to show that Soṇa and Uttara were actually sent as missionaries by Asoka, and the location of Suvarṇa-bhūmi is also not beyond dispute. For, while some identify it with Burma, others place it in Siam or take it to denote, broadly, the whole of Indo-China.

Barring the story of Uttara and Soṇa there is no other evidence that Buddhism flourished in Burma before the fifth century A.D. Considering the close proximity of Burma to India, and the existence of not too difficult land routes between the two even before the Christian era, the possibility is not altogether excluded that Buddhism found its way to Burma even before, perhaps long before, the fifth century A.D. But from this period onwards there are definite records to prove not only the existence but also the flourishing state of Theravāda Buddhism in the old kingdom of the Pyus known as Śrīkṣetra with its capital near Prome, the ruins of which lie in modern Hmawza.

The archaeological remains at Hmawza, about five miles from modern Prome, and the Chinese accounts leave no doubt that the Theravāda form of Buddhism with Pali canonical texts was introduced in the region round Prome not later than the fifth century A.D. by Indian missionaries who came from the eastern coast of the Deccan and South India. But side by side we also find traces of Mūla-sarvāstivāda and Mahāyānism which probably came from eastern India.

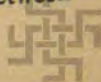
There are good grounds for supposing that the Theravāda form of Buddhism also flourished among the Hinduized Mons or Talaings settled in Pegu (Haṃsavatī), Thaton (Sudhammavatī) and other neighbouring regions collectively known as Rāmañña-desa. Some time before the eleventh century A.D. Thaton became a very important centre of this religion. Earlier still, the Mrammas, a Tibeto-Dravidian tribe, had established a powerful kingdom with its capital at Pagan and given their name to the whole country. The



Mrammas were a rude, unlettered people, and a debased form of Tāntric Buddhism flourished among them. In 1044 A.D. a new king, Anawratha (Aniruddha), ascended the throne of Pagan and was converted to the pure Theravāda form by a Talaing monk of Thaton named Arhan, also known as Dharma-darśī. The new king, with the help of Arhan and a few other monks from Thaton, led a crusade against the debased religion and established Theravāda on a firm footing. There was, however, great need of canonical texts. Aniruddha sent messengers to Manuha, the king of Thaton, asking for complete copies of the Tripiṭaka. Manuha having refused, Aniruddha marched with his army and captured Thaton. He returned in triumph and brought back with him not only king Manuha captive, but all the monks, and the Buddhist scriptures and relics which were carried by thirty-two elephants. Never was a victor more completely captivated by the culture of the vanquished. The Burmese of Pagan adopted the religion, language, literature and script of the Mons. Aniruddha and his successors became the great champions of the Theravāda form of Buddhism, and along with their political authority it extended over the whole of Burma. The Brahmanical religion that had prevailed there gradually yielded to Buddhism, which even now flourishes over the whole country without any rival.

With the zeal of a new convert Aniruddha built numerous pagodas or temples and monasteries, and his example was followed by his successors. He also brought complete copies of the Tripiṭaka from Ceylon and Arhan collated these with the texts from Thaton. Aniruddha's son, Kyanzittha, followed in the footsteps of his father and built the famous Ānanda temple at Pagan.

An important episode in the history of Buddhism in Burma was the establishment in 1181-82 A.D. of a Siṃhalese order of monks founded by Capaṭa who received his ordination in Ceylon. The Ceylonese monks did not consider those of Burma as validly ordained and this feeling was shared by Capaṭa and his followers. The rivalry between



the Siṃhala Saṅgha and the Mramma Saṅgha continued for three centuries and ended in the final triumph of the former.

The Malay Peninsula

A large number of inscriptions discovered in different parts of the Malay Peninsula are written in Sanskrit and in the Indian alphabets of the fourth or fifth century A.D. At least three of these definitely refer to the Buddhist creed and thus prove the spread of Buddhism in that region. But the most important of all the remains are found at Nakhon Sī Tammarāt (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony that constructed the great stūpa, which is still to be found there. Part of the fifty temples which surround the stūpa also probably belong to a very early period.

Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in this region in the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. This is proved by an inscribed clay tablet found near Keddah which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. It contains three Sanskrit verses embodying some philosophical doctrines of the Mahāyāna school. Two of these three verses have been traced in the Chinese translations of a number of texts of the Mādhyamika school, and all the three are found together in a Chinese translation of the Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā¹ (Nanjio 976).

Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to flourish in this region till the 8th century A.D., possibly much later. An inscription found at Ligor refers to the construction of three brick temples for Buddhist gods and of five stūpas by the king and priests. The stūpas were built in the Śaka year 697 which is equivalent to 775 A.D.

Siam (Thailand)

Buddhism flourished in Siam, now called Thailand, from a very early period, about the first or second century A.D. if not earlier. This is proved by archaeological finds at Pong Tuk and Phra Pathom. Phra Pathom is about 30 miles

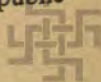
1. *JGIS*, Vol. VIII, p. 2.



west of Bangkok, and Pong Tuk lies about 20 miles farther to the west. Remains of a religious structure, the images of the Buddha, inscribed terra cottas and definite symbols of Buddhism like the dharmacakra, belonging probably to the first or second century A.D., have been found in these places.

To a somewhat later period belong the large number of ruined sanctuaries and some fine sculptures which indicate the strong influence of the Gupta period. These have been referred to the Dvārāvati school. Dvārāvati was a flourishing kingdom at the time of Yuan Chwang, *i.e.*, in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

About the eighth or ninth century A.D., both Siam and Laos formed part of Kambuja (Cambodia) politically and were influenced by the religious condition of that country. So both the Brahmanical religion and Buddhism can be found flourishing side by side in all these regions. About the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., the Thais made themselves masters of Siam and Laos and put an end to the political supremacy of the Cambodians over them. Under the influence of the Thai rulers, Buddhism of the Theravāda school and the Pali language flourished all over Siam and Laos. The Thai king, Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahā-Dharmikarājādhirāja was not only a great patron of Buddhism, but himself adopted the life of a Buddhist monk, preaching the doctrines of the Buddha all over his kingdom. About 1361 A.D., he sent some learned bhikkhus and scholars to Ceylon and induced the great monk called Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to come to Siam. Under his inspiration and the active efforts of the king, Buddhism and Pali literature not only obtained a firm footing, but also spread to a number of small Hinduized states in the territory now called Laos, such as Ālavirāṣṭra, Khmerrāṣṭra, Suvarṇagrāma, Unmārga-sila, Yonakarāṣṭra, and Haripuñjaya. Many of these still possess their local chronicles written in Pali. From this time onwards, Buddhism flourished in Siam and the neighbouring regions, and Brahmanism declined until it almost disappeared, leaving only a few traces in public



ceremonies and customs¹.

Kambuja (Cambodia)

The archæological finds and the Chinese Chronicles prove that from the end of the fifth century A.D. Buddhism flourished in Cambodia, though it did not occupy a dominant position, as it was less popular than some forms of Brahmanical religion like Śaivism. The great emperor, Yaśovarman, who ruled at the end of the ninth century A.D., established a Saugatāśrama which was specially meant for the Buddhist monks, and elaborate regulations were laid down for the guidance of this āśrama or hermitage.

King Jayavarman VII (1181—circa 1220 A.D.) was a devout Buddhist and received the posthumous title, Mahā-parama-saugata. The records of his reign express beautifully the typical Buddhist view of life, particularly the feelings of charity and compassion towards the whole universe. His role in the founding of religious institutions was magnificent.²

A Sanskrit inscription of Jayavarman VII gives us interesting information about the religious mood of his queen. It is said that when Jayavarman first went to

1. It is interesting to note here that although Siam was deeply influenced by Ceylon in respect of its religion, it repaid its debt in some measure when, about 1750 A.D., the king of Ceylon sent a messenger to the king of Siam and the latter sent golden and silver images of the Buddha, copies of sacred texts and a number of monks. It is clear that at that time Ceylon recognized Siam to be a country where Buddhism prevailed in a much purer form.

2. The account of royal donations contained in the Ta Prohm Inscription of Jayavarman VII makes interesting reading and reveals the magnitude of the resources and depth of religious sentiments of the king. It concerns the Rājavihāra, i.e., the temple of Ta Prohm and its adjuncts where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajñā-pāramitā. It is not possible here to record all the details, but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 people were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 professors and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1,409 whose food and other daily necessities of life were supplied. There were altogether 566 groups of stone and 288 groups of brick houses. Needless to say, the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion,

[Continued on next page]



Campā, his wife, Jayarājadevī, showed her conjugal fidelity by undergoing austerities of diverse types and of long duration. She was then initiated to Buddhism by her elder sister. It is said that she performed a ceremony by which she could see before her the image of her absent husband. When her husband returned, she increased her pious and charitable works. These included a dramatic performance, the plot of which was drawn from the Jātakas and which was acted by a body of nuns recruited from among castaway girls.¹

Buddhism continued to flourish in Kambuja in the thirteenth century A.D. It must be remembered, however, that up to this time, although Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, it was neither the State religion, nor even the dominant religious sect in the country. There is no definite information as to when Buddhism attained this position. But the change was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Thais of Siam, who, as already mentioned, were ardent Buddhists, and had conquered a large part of Cambodia. Whereas, in the earlier period, Siam was influenced by Cambodia, the role was now reversed, and Cambodia, under the influence of the Thais, was converted, almost wholesale, to Buddhism. Even the Brahmanical gods in the great sanctuaries like Angkor Vat were replaced by Buddhist images. We cannot trace the exact stages of this conversion, but, gradually, Buddhism became the dominant creed in Kambuja and today there is hardly any trace of Brahmanical religion in the country, except in some of the ceremonies and festivities of the people of Kambuja.

and they included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. All these relate to a single group of temples. And the inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 *khārikās* of rice, each *khārikā* being equivalent to 3 maunds 8 seers. In conclusion, the king expresses the hope that by his pious donations, his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births (*bhavābdhī*). For the text of this inscription containing 145 Sanskrit verses, see *Kambuja Inscriptions* by R. C. Majumdar (published by The Asiatic Society, Calcutta), pp. 460 ff.

1. *Kambuja Inscriptions*, p. 517.



Campā (Viet-Nam)

The southern part of the territory lying on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, called Annam, now Viet-Nam, was formerly known as Campā, a name evidently given to it by its Hindu colonists. That Buddhism had obtained a footing in the country before the third century A.D. may be inferred from the discovery of a fine bronze Buddha image of the Amarāvati school which may be dated about that period. We learn from a Chinese chronicle that when the Chinese captured the capital city of Campā in 605 A.D., they carried away 1,350 Buddhist works. From this important statement, it can be inferred that Buddhism must have flourished in the country for a considerable period before the seventh century A.D. I-tsing remarks that in Campā the Buddhists generally belong to the Āryasammitiya school, and that there are a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda school also. This would mean the prevalence of the Śrāvakayāna sect, but it appears from inscriptions of the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts, that the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism was powerful in Campā, and possibly even the Tāntric forms, later offshoots of the Mahāyāna, also prevailed there. Occasionally, Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of kings and high officials and we have the ruins of a great Buddhist establishment at a place called Dong Duong, including a temple and a monastery built by King Jaya Indravarman in 875 A.D.

Buddhism of the Mahāyāna form continued as a living force in Campā right up to the fifteenth century A.D., when the country was overrun by the Annamites from the North. The Annamites formerly lived in Tonkin and derived their culture from China. So the Chinese form of Buddhism, along with Islam, replaced the old religion in Campā.

Indonesia

Buddhism had very little hold on the people of the island of Java at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Fa-hien, who visited this island (c. 414 A.D.), observes



that while other forms of religion, particularly Brahmanism, flourished in this island, "Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning". But, thanks to the missionary zeal of Guṇavarman (an Indian monk)¹, Buddhism was not only introduced but obtained a stronghold on the island in less than a quarter of a century after Fa-hien's visit.

Buddhism was also introduced early in the island of Sumatra, particularly in the kingdom of Śrī-vijaya, which is usually identified with Palembang. It appears from some inscriptions found in this region that the king who ruled Śrī-vijāya in the years 683—684 A.D. was a Buddhist. The famous Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who visited India in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., says that the king of Śrī-vijaya, as well as the rulers of neighbouring states, favoured Buddhism, and that Śrī-vijaya was a very important centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of southern Asia. The Buddhist priests in Śrī-vijaya numbered more than a thousand and they studied all the subjects as in Madhyadeśa (India). I-tsing spent some time in Śrī-vijaya in order to study Buddhist scriptures and he has left a very interesting account of the popularity of Buddhism in the islands of the Southern Sea, consisting of more than ten countries. He gives a list of these ten countries and states that "Buddhism is embraced in all these and other smaller islands, and mostly, the system of the Hinayāna is adopted except in Malayu (Śrī-vijaya) where there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna".

The importance of Indonesia as a great centre of Buddhism from the seventh till the eleventh century A.D. is

1. Guṇavarman belonged to a royal family of India and, taking to the religious life of a Buddhist monk, he visited the island of Java. At first the Queen Mother was converted to Buddhism and, gradually, the king and the people adopted the religion. It is said that on one occasion Java was attacked by a hostile king and the king asked Guṇavarman whether it would be against Buddhist law if he offered battle. Guṇavarman told the king that it was his duty to fight the enemy. The king now wished to take to the life of a monk, but was dissuaded by his ministers. The result was that the Buddhist religion spread throughout the kingdom.



also proved by other facts. Dharmapāla, a famous professor of Nalanda University, visited Suvarṇa-dvīpa, which was a general designation of Indonesia, in the seventh century A.D. The famous monk and scholar Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (11th century A.D.), who became the head of Vikramaśīlā University and inaugurated the second period of Buddhism in Tibet, went in his early life to Suvarṇa-dvīpa in order to study Buddhism under the guidance of its High Priest, Candrakīrti. A strong impetus to the Mahāyānā was given by the Śailendra dynasty, who ruled over the Malay Peninsula and a large part of Indonesia. The Sailendra kings were great patrons of this form of Buddhism and erected monumental structures like Borobudur, Kalasan and Mendut in Java. It appears from epigraphic records that one of the Śailendra kings had a guru (preceptor) from the Gauḍa country (Bengal). There is hardly any doubt that the Pāla kings of Bengal and the Coṣa rulers of the South exercised great influence upon Java in religious matters during the Śailendra period. The Śailendra kings established monasteries at Nalanda and Nāgapaṭṭinam and the Pāla and the Coṣa emperors granted villages for their maintenance. Under the influence of the Śailēndras, Mahāyānism flourished in Java and Sumatra for a long period. But the influence of Bengal seems also to have been responsible for the introduction of the debased Tāntric forms of Buddhism both in Java and Sumatra. We have a fairly detailed account of some later kings of both these countries who were followers of these cults. We have also two important Mahāyāna texts, viz., the *Sang hyang Kama-hayanan Mantranaya* and the *Sang hyang Kamahayanikan*,¹

1. The first work consists of Sanskrit verses with a Javanese translation, while the second consists of a somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original mixed with a number of original Sanskrit verses. The second text gives a detailed exposition of the sacred principles of Māhayāna, but the first gives the picture of a more popular but degraded form of Mahāyāna. Its title *Mantranaya* is probably another form of Mantrayāna. In any case, it is really an exposition of the Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna, both in its theoretical

[Continued on next page]



which give us a fair insight into the leading conceptions of Mahāyānism in Java.

Besides Sumatra and Java, we have positive evidence of the introduction of Buddhism in the other islands of Malayasia, particularly Bali and Borneo. The Brahmanical religion, however, dominated and Buddhism gradually disappeared in these regions.

and practical aspects, and explicitly refers to the five kinds of sensual enjoyment (kāma-pañcakan) which no doubt refer to pañca-makāra. There exists a fairly detailed account of King Kṛtanagara of Java (1254—1292 A.D.) who was passionately devoted to this degraded form of Buddhism.



CHAPTER VI

Principal Schools and Sects of Buddhism

A. IN INDIA

It appears that even during the lifetime of the Buddha there were people who would not accept his authority. His cousin, Devadatta, out of jealousy for the Buddha conspired with King Ajātaśatru and made several attempts on his life. He also tried to create divisions in the Buddhist Saṅgha by demanding stricter conditions of life for Buddhist monks, such as living throughout the year under trees, foregoing meat and fish, and refusing all invitations from faithful adherents. There were also monks like Upananda, Channa, Mettiya-Bhummajaka, or Śaḍvargīya (Pali: Chabbaggiya) who would take the earliest opportunity of transgressing the rules of the Vinaya. Besides, there is a perverse tendency among some people to oppose a rule simply because a rule has been laid down. Some like to live a life of ease and comfort and consequently all restrictions on individual freedom are looked at askance. For example, Subhadra, on hearing of the death of the Buddha, gave a sigh of relief saying that he would now no longer have to abide by "do this, do not do that".

When the Buddha died, he left no one to take his place as the supreme authority. In fact he told his personal attendant, Ānanda, that the Dharma and the Vinaya would be the supreme authority in the future. All statements claimed to have been made by learned monks or the Saṅgha or even the Buddha himself have to be tested by direct reference to the words of the Buddha recorded in the suttas and the Vinaya.



here of only one more treatise of Nāgārjuna, which he wrote as a letter to his friend, Yajña Śrī Gautamīputra. This treatise is known as the *Suhrllekha* or 'Letter to a Friend'. I-tsing tells us that at the time of his visit to India he saw children committing it to memory and adults making a life-long study of it. This treatise shows unmistakably that Nāgārjuna was not a destructive thinker as he is generally supposed to be and morality plays as important a role in his philosophy of *Śūnyatā* as in any other philosophical discipline.

Sthavira Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya) may be mentioned here as important exponents of the *Śūnyavāda* doctrine propounded by Nāgārjuna. They both belong to the fifth century A.D. and their chief importance in the history of Buddhist thought lies in the fact that they are the respective founders of two schools of logical thinking known as the *Prāsaṅgika* and the *Svātantra* schools. The *Prāsaṅgika* school founded by Buddhapālita attempts to develop a method of reasoning in which an individual in order to establish his position puts such questions to his adversary as would defeat him completely and make his position absurd. The *Svātantra* school as propounded by Bhavya, tries to establish the truth of the *Mādhyamika* doctrines by advancing independent (*svatantra*) arguments. Āryadeva, Śāntideva, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla are other distinguished thinkers of the *Mādhyamika* school.

The two illustrious brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, who both lived in the fourth century A.D., are among those creative thinkers who brought about what may be called the classical age of Buddhist philosophy. They were in fact three brothers, of whom Asaṅga was the eldest. Vasubandhu was the second brother, while the youngest was called Viriñcivatsa. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were born in Puruṣapura in the Gandhāra country. They belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśika gotra and were well versed in Brahmanical learning. They were educated in Kashmir where they studied the *Vibhāṣā-śāstra*. Originally Asaṅga and Vasubandhu be-

longed to the Sarvāstivāda school which held sway in Kashmir and Gandhāra in those days. They also sojourned in Ayodhyā for some time. According to Paramārtha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, the latter died in Ayodhyā at the age of eighty.

Asaṅga has been regarded as the most prominent teacher of the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda school. He also induced his younger brother, Vasubandhu, to leave the Sarvāstivāda school and join the new school. Asaṅga was a pupil of Maitreyanātha who is regarded as the founder of the Vijñānavāda school. The most important works of Asaṅga are the Mahāyāna-samparigraha, the Prakaraṇa-āryavācā, the Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra and the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra.¹ The last two works are most important from the ethical and doctrinal points of view. The Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra, which in its original Sanskrit form has been discovered by Rahul Sankrityayan, is divided into seventeen bhūmis and describes in detail the path of discipline according to the Yogācāra school. The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra is the joint work of Asaṅga and his teacher Maitreyanātha. The kārikās were written by Maitreyanātha and their commentary by Asaṅga.

Vasubandhu, who in the latter part of his life joined the Vijñānavāda school of Mahāyāna Buddhism at the inspiration of his elder brother, was a celebrated teacher of the Vaibhāṣika branch of the Sarvāstivāda school. His greatest work, the Abhidharma-kośa, is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy and was written originally from the point of view of the Vaibhāṣika branch of the Sarvāstivāda school, which was dominant in Kashmir, as the author himself observes at the end of the work, *Kāśmīravaibhāṣikanīṣiddhaḥ prāyo mayāyaṃ kathito 'bhidharmaḥ*. This grand work written in 600 kārikās proved invaluable for the propagation of Buddhism in Asia. It is not possible here to give an idea of the

1. The Abhidharma-samūcaya, recently edited from an incomplete manuscript by Prof. Prahlad Pradhan and published in *Visva-Bharati Studies*, Santiniketan, might also be added.



philosophy contained in the Abhidharma-kośa. Suffice it to say that from the very beginning this useful work elicited praise not only from the Buddhists but also from others. Thus, in the seventh century, Bāṇa while describing the hermitage of the Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra, in his *Harṣacarita* says that even the parrots there explained the Kośa (i.e., the Abhidharma-kośa) to one another. *Sukairapi Śākyaśūsanakuśalaiḥ koṣaṃ samupadiśadbhiḥ*. Yasomitra, who wrote a commentary named the *Sphuṭārthā* on Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya¹, says that, on account of his spiritual attainments, Vasubandhu was known as a second Buddha by his contemporaries. *Yam buddhimatām agryam dvitīyamiva Buddham ityāhuḥ*.² This is no ordinary praise for a mortal. The vast commentarial literature written on the Abhidharma-kośa points to the great influence the work has exercised on men's minds. Besides the Abhidharma-kośa, Vasubandhu wrote the *Paramārtha-saptati* which was an attack on the *Sāṅkhya-saptati* of the well-known Sāṅkhya teacher, Vindhyavāsī, who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu. He also wrote two treatises on logic, namely, the *Tarka-śāstra* and the *Vāda-vidhi*. As a Mahāyānist teacher he wrote commentaries on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā*. He has also given us an invaluable little book called the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. It is found in two recensions entitled the *Viṃśikā* and the *Triṃśikā* which contain twenty and thirty *kārikās* respectively.

Among the inheritors of Vasubandhu mention should be made of Sthiramati, the younger Dharmapāla and his pupil Candrakīrti.

In the history of Buddhist logic the name of Dinnāga occupies a pre-eminent place. He is the founder of Bud-

1. Vasubandhu wrote his own *Bhāṣya* on the *Kośa*. The manuscript of this also was recovered from Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayan and is understood to have been edited by Prof. Prahlad Pradhan for publication by the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

2. Opening lines of the *Sphuṭārthā*.



dhist logic and has been called the Father of Medieval Nyāya as a whole. He lived at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. According to Tibetan sources he was born in Siṃha-Vaktra, a suburb of Kāñcī in the South, in a Brāhmaṇa family. He was first a Hinayānist Buddhist of the Vātsīputriyā sect and later devoted himself to the teachings of Mahāyānism. According to the Tibetan tradition, he was a pupil of Vasubandhu. Dinnāga also went to the Nalanda Mahāvihāra where he defeated a Brāhmaṇa logician named Sudurjaya in a religious discussion. He also toured the provinces of Oḍiśā (Orissa) and Mahārāṭṭha (Maharashtra), holding religious contests with scholars. He is said to have died in a jungle in Orissa. Dinnāga is credited with the authorship of about a hundred treatises on logic. Most of these are still preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations and have been mentioned by Bunyiu Nanjio in his famous Catalogue. I-tsing says that Dinnāga's treatises on logic were read as text-books at the time of his visit to India. Among the most important works of Dinnāga are the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, his greatest work, the *Nyāya-praveśa*, the *Hetucakra-ḍamaru*, the *Pramāṇa-śāstra-nyāyapraveśa*, the *Ālambana-parīkṣā* and several others, all written in a terse and difficult style. In his works Dinnāga criticized some of the theories propounded by Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāya-bhāṣya*. It was as a defence of Vātsyāyana's position that Udyotakara later wrote the *Nyāya-vārtika*. Dinnāga is thus an important link between the Buddhist and the orthodox Nyāya systems of India.

Dharmakīrti, who was born in a village named Tirumalai in the Coḷa country, was a successor of Dinnāga and a logician of unsurpassed genius. Dr. Stcherbatsky rightly regards him as the Kant of India. Even his Brahmanical adversaries have acknowledged the superiority of his reasoning powers. Dharmakīrti lived in the seventh century. He studied logic from Īśvarasena who was among Dinnāga's pupils. Later, he went to Nalanda and became a disciple of Dharmapāla who was at that time the Saṅgha-sthavira of the



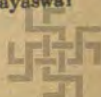
Mahāvihāra and a prominent teacher of the Vijñānavāda school. Dharmakīrti's fame as a subtle philosophical thinker and dialectician was till recently shrouded in obscurity. Rahul Sankrityayan has done signal service not only to Buddhism but to Indian logic by discovering in Tibet the original Sanskrit version of the *Pramāṇa-vārtika*, the *magnum opus* of Dharmakīrti.¹ The other important works written by Dharmakīrti are the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, the *Nyāya-bindu*, the *Sambandha-parīkṣā*, the *Hetu-bindu*, the *Vādanyāya* and the *Samānāntara-siddhi*. All these works deal generally with the Buddhist theory of knowledge and display great erudition and subtle thinking. Dharmakīrti's writings mark the highest summit reached in epistemological speculation by later Buddhism. They have also a place in the general development of *Nyāya-śāstra* in India. In fact, it was through the incentive provided by Dharmakīrti that Vācaspati Miśra in the ninth century came forward to write his *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā* in defence of the writer of the *Nyāya-vārtika* whom Dharmakīrti attacked in his writings.

B. IN TIBET

Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna

Ācārya Dīpaṅkar Śrījñāna's name stands foremost among the Indians who had worked selflessly to bring Tibet and India closer together culturally. In Tibet his fame is only next to that of the Buddha and Padmasambhava. Undoubtedly, of all the Indian scholars who went to Tibet from India, the greatest were Ācārya Śāntarakṣita and his disciple, Ācārya Kamalaśīla. Ācārya Dīpaṅkara, too, was a great scholar and he stands higher than the other two in making available priceless Sanskrit works in Tibetan. It is interesting to note that with a few exceptions, all Indian names are known to Tibetans in translated forms. Thus Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna is known in Tibet as *Dpal-mar-med-mdsa Ye-Śes*

1. A commentary on this work called *Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya* or *Vārtika-alaṅkāraḥ* by Prajñākaragupta was published in 1953 by the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.



and *Sāntarakṣita* as *Shi-Va-Chho*. The Tibetans also call *Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Jo-Vo-rJe Pal Dan Atiśa* (*Svāmī Śrī Atiśayā*) or merely *Atiśa*.

Ācārya Dīpaṅkara's father was king *Kalyāṇa Śrī*, and his mother *Śrī Prabhāvatī*. He was born in the 'water-man-horse' year (*i.e.*, the year of *Manmath*, *Vikram* era 1039, 982 A.D.) in *Sahor* in eastern India. Not far from the *Kalyāṇa Śrī* palace where *Dīpaṅkara* was born, was the *Vikrama-vihāra*, which was also called the *Vikramaśīlā*¹ *Vihāra*. There has been useless controversy as to whether *Dīpaṅkara* was born in Bengal or in Bihar. Authoritative Tibetan sources leave us in no doubt that he was born in *Bhagalpur*.

The parents of *Dīpaṅkara* were intimately connected with the *Vikramaśīlā Vihāra* which was widely known throughout the Buddhist world in those days. According to tradition, at his birth, his parents went to this *vihāra* for worship and took him with them in a procession of 500 chariots. The King had three sons—*Padmagarbha*, *Candragarbha* and *Śrīgarbha*. The second, *Candragarbha*, became famous as *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna* when he took the Order.

As was customary for the children of the nobility at that time, the astrologers predicted many wonderful things about *Candragarbha* when he was born. He was an intelligent child and was sent to school at the age of three. By the age of eleven, he had mastered the three R's and had become a grammarian. However, since Prince *Candragarbha* was not the eldest son of the king, he was not destined for the throne.

In those days higher education was provided only at the *vihāras*. Fortunately, the world-famous *Vikramaśīlā Mahā-vihāra* was not far from his father's capital, but *Nalanda* was still held in great esteem. The prince while roaming one day went by chance to a nearby jungle. There he met *Ācārya Jitāri*² who lived in a cottage.

1. See note on this word in Chapter VIII, p. 177.

2. See note on this name in the Appendix to this Chapter.



Jitāri was renowned as a grammarian and erudite scholar. "Who are you?" he asked the prince. "I am the son of the master of the land", replied Candragarbha.

Jitāri thought that this answer showed pride. "We neither have any master nor any slave. If you are the ruler of the land, then go away", he answered.

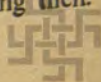
This was the age of the eighty-four Siddhas, and Tilopā and Nāropā were still alive. Although Jitāri was not counted among these eighty-four, the prince knew that, notwithstanding his great scholarship, he had forsaken the world. Very humbly he told him that he wanted to renounce the world.

At this, Jitāri advised him to go to Nalanda, as he thought that if the prince was ordained too close to his father's capital, it would be difficult for him to overcome pride.

No one, however, was allowed to become a Buddhist monk without the consent of his parents. Candragarbha did not find it easy to persuade his father and mother to share his desire. Finally, when he was permitted to go to Nalanda with a few attendants, the King of Nalanda expressed surprise. "How is it that you have come here, although you have the mahāvihāra of Vikramaśīlā in your neighbourhood?" he asked.

The prince spoke to him of the greatness of the Nalanda. At this, the King relented and recommended him for residence at the Nalanda Vihāra. Accordingly, the prince reported himself to the head of the vihāra; Bhikṣu Bodhibhadra. As one could be initiated as a bhikṣu only at the age of twenty, the prince had perforce to wait for nearly nine years. Meanwhile, however, Ācārya Bodhibhadra initiated him into the life of a śramaṇa (novice), made him wear saffron-coloured clothes and called him Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna. In Buddhist lore, Dīpaṅkara is a highly revered name, because it was the name of a Buddha who came long before Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha. Śrījñāna was added to his name as he was expected to become a scholar.

Maitrī Gupta, the guru of Bodhibhadra, was living then.



He had abandoned the path of scholarship and taken to the ways of the Siddhas. Consequently, he was called Maitrīpā Advayavajra or Avadhūtipāda. Bodhibhadra once took his young disciple to Avadhūtipāda who lived at Rājagṛha, and prevailed upon him to accept Dīpaṅkara as a disciple. The guru agreed and the twelve year old Dīpaṅkara stayed with him until he was eighteen. In this period, he made a thorough study of the scriptures.

As the cult of the mantras and the Siddhas was dominant in those days, he had of necessity to study these subjects. And who could be a better guru for these than Nāropā (Nāḍapāda or Narottamapāda)? Nāropā was a Siddha, but he was also a great scholar. The Nalanda and Vikramaśīlā mahāvihāras were great centres of learning, and prospective pupils had to pass many difficult examinations before they were allowed to enter these universities. At every gate of Vikramaśīlā there used to live an erudite scholar. Nāropā was in charge of the northern gate. From Rājagṛha, Dīpaṅkara went to him, and remained with him for eleven years. Besides Dīpaṅkara, Nāropā had many other disciples, such as Prajñārakṣita, Kanakaśrī and Māṇakaśrī, all of whom distinguished themselves as great scholars in later years. Pupils came even from foreign lands to study at the feet of Nāropā. This is evident from the fact that the most famous Siddha of Tibet (the great poet Milā Repā's guru, Marpā) was also a disciple of Nāropā.

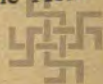
Dīpaṅkara completed his studies at Vikramaśīlā, but his thirst for knowledge was not quenched. The chief bhikṣu of Vajrāsana Mahāvihāra at Bodh Gaya was renowned for his learning. He was known as Vajrāsanīpāda (Dorje danpa), although this was not his real name. Dīpaṅkara went to the Maṭi Vihāra in Vajrāsana and became the disciple of Mahāvinayadhara Śīlarakṣita, the great Vinaya-piṭaka scholar. He studied the Vinaya-piṭaka with him for two years. Thus, by the time he reached the age of 31, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna had already become a master of the three Piṭakas and the Tantras, and an all-round scholar.



At that time Ācārya Dharmapāla of Suvarṇa-dvīpa (modern Sumatra) was famous for his scholarship throughout the Buddhist world. Indians in that age did not suffer from the complex of having a monopoly of great learning. In fact, one of the eighty-four Siddhas, Ratnākaraśānti, who had earned the title of Kalikāla-sarvajña, omniscient of the Kali Age, was a disciple of Ācārya Dharmapāla. Jñānaśrī Mitra, the great exponent of dialectics, and Ratnakīrti had also sat at the feet of Ācārya Dharmapāla. Dīpaṅkara had met these scholars at Vikramāśilā and had probably learnt a good deal from the disciples of Ācārya Dharmapāla. His *Wanderlust*, however, was not satisfied. From Bodh Gaya he went to the seacoast, perhaps to Tāmralipti, the present Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal. In the Tibetan biographies of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, there is no other mention of his travels, but it is certain that he must have visited Sarnath (Rṣipatan), Śrāvastī, Kusinārā and other holy places before he set sail for Sumatra. Vijayapāla (960—1040 A.D.) was the king of Magadha in those days. This was the time when Mahmud Ghaznavi (997—1030 A.D.) invaded India and plundered Kanauj, Mathura, Banaras and Kalanjar. In his last invasion in 1023 A.D., Somnath was laid waste. Dīpaṅkara had started on his voyage only ten years earlier.

Dīpaṅkara travelled for fourteen months and during this period he might have visited Burma and Malaya also. No vestige of the Buddhist religion is left in Sumatra now except for the ruins of some old vihāras, but when Dīpaṅkara went there, it was famous for Buddhist learning. It was usual for foreign monks on their way to India to stay in Sumatra for some time to acquire proficiency in Sanskrit. This is known from the accounts left by Chinese pilgrims four centuries earlier.

At first, Dīpaṅkara lived quietly by himself and many monks came to see him. Then he went to Ācārya Dharmapāla and remained with him for twelve years, studying the books he already knew. Of these, the Abhi-



samayālaṅkāra by Asaṅga and the Bodhicaryāvatāra by Śāntideva are still extant. Dīpaṅkara was also initiated in the mysteries of the Tantras and other scriptures. In those days it was customary for a scholar to stay with a great master for a long period to study the great works methodically. Even in our own age scholars sometimes spend something like twelve years to read only eight to ten pages of the Tatvacintāmaṇi by Gaṅgash Upādhyāya.

At the age of forty-four, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna left Sumatra and returned to Vikramaśīlā. By virtue of his extraordinary learning and ability, he became the chief among the 51 scholars and the leader of 108 temples in the vihāra. Siddha Bhutakoṭipāda Śāntipāda and Avadhūtipāda were all responsible for what he became eventually. Avadhūtipāda was the disciple of Siddha Ḍamrūpā and was the grand disciple of the great Siddha poet, Kaṇhapā. Jālandharapā, the guru of Kaṇhapā, was one of the most important among the eighty-four Siddhas. Dīpaṅkara was thus not only a great scholar, but also well versed in the mysteries of the Siddha cult.

At that time Nalanda, Uddantapurī (Bihar Sharif), Vajrāsana and Vikramaśīlā were the four greatest vihāras of India. Of these, Vikramaśīlā was the most important and had an interesting origin. The great king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, while on a visit to these parts, was greatly attracted by the sight of a beautiful hillock on the banks of the Ganga and decided to found a vihāra at the place. The vihāra, which thus came to be built at the end of 8th century A.D., grew into a great seat of learning two and a half centuries later. The number of students who came from foreign parts to study here was greater than at Nalanda. Among the teachers who taught at Vikramaśīlā were 108 scholars, eight famous savants, and the great scholar Ratnākaraśānti who was the head of the vihāra. Śāntibhadra, Maitrīpā (Avadhūtipā), Ḍombīpā Sthavirabhadra, Smṛtyākara-Siddha (a Kashmiri) and Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna were among the eight great paṇḍits.



There was a beautiful temple of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at the centre of the vihara, besides the fifty-three big and small temples in the compound. Among the gods and goddesses worshipped in these temples, there were some beautiful Tāntric icons. The other three vihāras also belonged to the kingdom of the Pālas, who had special ties with Vikramaśīlā. The eighty-four Siddhas lived during the Pāla regime (765—1200 A.D.) and most of them were connected with Vikramaśīlā in one way or another. According to Tibetan writers, the Tāntrics of Vikramaśīlā had put the Turks to flight many times by magic spells, but history has a different story to tell.

In the middle of the 9th century A.D., the Tibetan Prince, Ñi-Ma-Gon, moved to the west and founded a new kingdom. At his death it was divided into three, and a part given to one of his sons, Lde-Chug-gon. This king showed so much zeal for Buddhism that Cakrasena, another son, became a Buddhist monk and assumed the name Jñānaprabha.

It must be remembered that Buddhism came to Tibet at a time when India was entering the age of Tantrism. In fact by Jñānaprabha's time, Tantrism had devoured all the religions of India. In spite of this, Jñānaprabha himself was not attracted to Tantrism. On the contrary, he wrote a book against it. The Tāntrics of Tibet believe that the royal ascetic went to hell for writing this book.

Jñānaprabha was the eldest son of the king of Guge (Shen-shung) and had become bhikṣu. He had read the scriptures, was a rationalist, and had inherited from his forefathers a great faith in Buddhism.

He realized, however, that the task of combating the evils of Tantrism was so stupendous that his single-handed efforts would not suffice. He therefore selected 21 intelligent Tibetan youths, educated them for ten years in the country, and then sent them to Kashmir for higher studies. None of these, however, could stand the rigours of Kashmir's climate, and all of them died except Ratnabhadra (Rin-Chhen-Zang-Po) and Suprajña (Legs-Pahi-Shes-Rab).



Ratnabhadra is considered to be the greatest translator in Tibet. When he returned at the end of his studies, Devaguru Jñānaprabha was naturally delighted, but the work of reform for which he had striven so hard was too large an undertaking for an individual. He came to the conclusion that since the students from Tibet found it very difficult to stand the climate of India, it would be better if some scholar were to come from India and work in Tibet.

Students from western Tibet used to come to the Indian mahāvihāras for study. Jñānaprabha came to learn from them that there was a great scholar called Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in the Vikramaśīlā mahāvihāra. Accordingly, he sent a party, properly equipped for the long journey, to Vikramaśīlā to invite Dīpaṅkara to Tibet. The mission failed, however, for the party could not prevail upon the master to undertake a journey to Tibet.

Jñānaprabha was not one to be daunted by failure. He decided to send another party, but funds were lacking, so he went to the Gartog Province to collect gold. This probably refers to a place named Gartog, which was situated to the north of the Mānasarovar lake and had a gold mine. It is recorded that the king of Gartog put him under arrest and held him up for a big ransom. When the news of Jñānaprabha's arrest reached his son, Bodhiprabha (Byang Chub Od), he thought that he had collected enough money to effect his release. The amount, however, proved inadequate, but before he could go back to obtain more money, he went to see his father in prison. "My son," said Jñānaprabha, "you know I am grown old. Even if I do not die immediately, I am likely to do so within the next ten years. So, if you squander money on me, we shall not be able to send for a scholar from India. How splendid it would be if I were to die for the sake of the great cause and you could send all the gold to India to fetch the scholar! Moreover, it is not certain that the king will release me even after he has received the stipulated amount of gold. So, my son, instead of worrying about me, you had better send an emissary to



Atiśa. I am sure he will agree to come to the country of the Bhots (Tibet), especially when he hears about my present plight, for he will take pity on us. If for some reason he cannot come, then you should send for some other scholar who has worked under him." Thus Devaguru put his hand on his son and blessed him as he took leave of him for the last time.

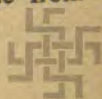
At that time, it was customary to call all royal monks Devaguru (Lha Bla-ma). Devaguru Bodhiprabha began to look for people who would act as emissaries for the mission entrusted to him by his father. The Upāsaka Guṇ-Than-Pa had been to India and lived there for two years. Devaguru secured his services for this work. Guṇ Than persuaded Bhikṣu Chul-Khrims'-Gyal-Va (Śīlajaya or Jayaśīla), an inhabitant of Nag Choho, and some other people to accompany him. In all, some ten people reached Vikramaśīlā by way of Nepal. The beloved disciple of Dīpaṅkara Srijñāna wrote in the Guruguṇadharmākara, the biography of his teacher, that when these ten men reached the banks of the Ganga, the sun had already set. The boatman whose boat was already full said that he would come back to take them across the river. But as it was getting late, the Tibetan travellers began to have doubts about his return. They suspected foul play, so they concealed the gold in the sand and were preparing to spend the night there when the boatman returned.

The travellers said, "We thought you would not return." "How could I leave you on the banks of the river and thus break the royal law?" the boatman replied.

By the time the boatman took them across the river, the gates had closed; so he advised the travellers to spend the night in the inn outside the western gate. "When the gate opens in the morning, you may go in", he added.

Just above the gate, there lived a bhikṣu called Tson Sen (Vikramasingh), who heard the travellers talking in his mother tongue. Naturally, his curiosity was aroused and he enquired about the newcomers. Vikramasingh came from

1. Pron. *Thim*.



Gya, the last Ladakh village on the way to Kulu, which is no longer inhabited.

When Vikramasingh was told about the object of their visit, he advised them not to say outright that they had come to take Atiśa to Tibet. He told them to say that they had come to study, otherwise they could not hope to succeed in their mission. He also promised to take them to Atiśa at a suitable time.

A few days after their arrival, a congregation of scholars met at Vikramaśīlā. Vikramasingh took his compatriots there and they were able to see the scholars, especially Ratnakīrti, Tathāgatarakṣita, Sumatikīrti, Vairocanarakṣita and Kanakaśrī, who worked under Atiśa. They also saw for themselves the high esteem in which Atiśa was held.

After a few days, Vikramasingh took his countrymen to meet the master. They saluted Atiśa, placed the gold before him, and told him the tragic story of the death of the royal ascetic, Jñānaprabha, in prison.

Dīpaṅkara was much moved and he said, "There is no doubt that Jñānaprabha was a Bodhisattva, the Buddha to be, because he had sacrificed himself for the Dharma. I will fulfil his desire, but you must realize that the heavy responsibility for 108 temples rests on my shoulders. I have, moreover, many other duties to attend to. It will take me eighteen months to be relieved of these duties. Then only shall I be able to go to Tibet. In the mean time you must keep this gold."

The Tibetan travellers showed the utmost satisfaction at these words of Atiśa and settled down there, ostensibly to study. Atiśa also began to make preparations for his departure. At this time (1030 A.D.) he was 57-58 years old, but his age did not stand in the way of his resolution. At the opportune moment, Dīpaṅkara informed Ratnākaraśānti, the Chief Abbot of the mähāvihāra, about his intentions. Ratnākara was reluctant to let him go and said to Guṇ Thaṅ Pa and his friends, "My Tibetan friends, you say that you have come here to study, but have you not really come to



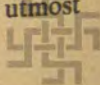
take Atiśa away? At present Atiśa is the eye of India. Are you not aware that the Turks are knocking at the western gates of the country? If Atiśa were to leave at this juncture, then the sun of the Dharma preached by the Lord will set."

Ten years earlier, in 1029 A.D., Mahmud had passed away, but the Panjab was still under Ghazni domination. Buddhism had almost disappeared from Central Asia with the impact of Islam. Mahmud's son, Masud (1030—1040 A.D.), was all the time poised to invade Kanauj. In the course of the bloody wars in Central Asia, hundreds of Buddhist vihāras had been ruined. Thousands of bhikṣus had come to India as refugees and found shelter in the vihāras of India. Thousands of homeless men and women wandered all over the country.

At last, the Chief of the mahāvihāra allowed Atiśa to go to Tibet. Atiśa sent for the gold, a quarter of which he gave to the paṇḍits, a quarter for worship in Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya, a quarter to Ratnākaraśāntipāda and the rest to the king for various religious works. Then he sent some of the Tibetans with his own men to Nepal, and with the interpreter, Vikrama of Gaya, and some other men, altogether twelve people, Atiśa set out for Bodh Gaya. Before leaving India, he felt the need to see once more the place where Siddhārtha Gautama had become the Buddha.

Atiśa visited Vajrāsana and many other holy places. Then along with the scholars, Kṣitigarbha and 19 others, he reached a small vihāra on the frontier of India. Dom-ton-pa writes, "at the time the master left India, Buddhism was, as it were, at its lowest ebb." Near the frontier, Atiśa found three helpless puppies. He took pity on them, took them in his lap and fondled them. It is said that even today the race of those puppies is to be found in Dān (Tibet).

Having crossed the border, Atiśa and his party entered Nepal and arrived at the capital in due course. At this time, King Jayakāmadeva of the Thākuri Dynasty was probably the ruler of the country. He showed them the utmost



respect and asked them to stay in Nepal. Atiśa could not refuse his request, and lived there for one year. During this period he initiated one of the princes of the royal blood into the Order.

It is from Nepal that the master wrote a letter to King Nayapāla (1040—55 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty. The letter is available in its Tibetan translation in the Tanjur Collection.¹ Similar letters written by the Buddhist masters from India are preserved in their Tibetan translations.²

Leaving Nepal behind, the master and his party reached the Thun vihāra, but meanwhile Vikramasingh, the interpreter, had fallen ill. He did not recover in spite of all the medical care bestowed on him. Atiśa was greatly distressed and lost all hope of ever reaching Tibet. "With the interpreter dead, it is useless for me to go to Tibet", he said.

However, there were other interpreters, such as Jayaśīla, who consoled him. As he entered the kingdom of Guge, the men sent by the royal ascetic Bodhiprabha were already there to welcome him. Everywhere arrangements were made to make the stay of the master and his retinue comfortable. The people vied with one another in doing honour to him. Before reaching Tho-liñ, the capital of Mñah Ris in the Mānasarovar region, in the year 'water-man-horse' (Citra-bhānu, 1042 A.D.), the king came to receive him reverentially and took him to the Tho-liñ vihāra. This vihāra had been built by the late king Jñānaprabha. The master stayed in this vihāra for nine months and preached the Dharma. Here he translated many books and wrote his famous work, the Bodhipatha-pradīpa. The Tibetan translation of this book is still extant. Atiśa lived in the Mānasarovar province for three years. Then he went to Purañ (Spu Rañs) to the east of Mānasarovar in the year 'tree-man-monkey' (1044 A.D.). It was here that his very dear and devoted disciple, Ḍom-Ton-Pa, met his preceptor. He

1. Mdo-ḡgrel, XCIV, 33,3. *Sthavira-mahāpaṇḍita-Dīpaṅkara-Srījñānena preṣito "Vimalārthalekko"*.

2. See List I in Appendix to this Chapter.



followed him everywhere like a shadow until the day he died in 1054 A.D. He wrote a biography of his guru, which is called the Guruguṇadharmākara.

From far and near, people came to listen to the great scholar who was always on the move and was honoured everywhere. His knowledge of the Tibetan language was elementary. In fact, the story goes that he did not know the difference between the words for 'pebble' and 'stone slab'. Truly speaking, Atiśa had little time to spare for the Tibetan language. Besides travelling, he had to write books and translate or review many important Sanskrit books. His insufficient knowledge of the language of the country, however, was no obstacle to Atiśa, for he always had a competent interpreter with him. The great master Ratnabhadra, who had been sent by Jñānaprabha to Kashmir, had returned as a great scholar of Sanskrit. He was at first not in a mood to receive the Indian scholar properly. Gradually, however, he was so greatly impressed by his scholarship and his kind behaviour that he became one of his staunchest devotees and assisted him in translating many important books.

During the latter part of his long stay of thirteen years in Tibet, Atiśa spent three years in mNāḥ Ris, four years in middle Tibet and six years in Nē Than. He went to the Sam-ye viḥāra in central Tibet in the year 'fire-man-boar' (1047 A.D.). This was the first viḥāra founded by the Indian master Sāntarakṣita in Tibet during the regime of Emperor Khri'-Sroṅ-lde-btsan (755—80 A.D.) and it was here that Tibetans were initiated for the first time as bhikṣus. Many Sanskrit books were also translated here. The library at this viḥāra was so rich that the master was surprised to find certain books that were not to be found in the viḥāras of India. Unfortunately, this viḥāra was later reduced to ashes, although it was rebuilt in the first half of the 13th century by the interpreter, Vajraśrī (Dorje Dpal). Dīpaṅkara is remembered in all the places he visited even to this day.

1. Pron. *Thi*.



He stayed in Yer-Va in the year 'iron-man-tiger' (1050 A.D.). This place lies to the north-east of Lhasa, a day's journey from Lhasa. It is here, in 1051 A.D., that he wrote his commentary on the Kālacakra. Half a day's journey to the south of Lhasa, there is a place called Nē Thañ, the last place where Atiśa lived. Here, in the year 'tree-man-horse' (1054 A.D.), on the 18th day of the 8th lunar month, this great savant passed away at the age of seventy-three.

C. IN CHINA

Kumārajīva

Kumārajīva¹ (transliterated from the Chinese Ciu-mo-lo-shi) was born of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother. His father, Kumārāyana, came from an illustrious family but for some reason left the country and after an arduous journey across the Pamirs arrived in Kuci. Here Jīvā, a princess of the royal family of Kuci, fell in love with him and ultimately married him. Kumārajīva was born of this union at Kara-shahr. Soon afterwards, Jīvā was converted to Buddhism and became a nun. Kumārajīva began his education in Kuci but when he was nine years old his mother took him to Kashmir to give him a thorough grounding in Buddhist literature and philosophy.

His teacher in Kashmir was Bandhudatta who was later to be converted to the Mahāyāna faith through the discourses of his one-time pupil. In a few years Kumārajīva acquired great proficiency in all branches of Buddhist learning, and at last returned to Kuci with his mother. On the way he visited several centres of Buddhist studies in Central Asia.

It is said that on their way back to Kuci, mother and son met an Arhat who prophesied that if Jīvā carefully guarded her son against the temptations of youth and if he remained blameless till his thirty-fifth year, he would one day be able to propagate the doctrine of the Buddha among the common people and thus bring them salvation.

1. 344-413 A.D.



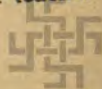
Kumārajīva acquired such eminence as a scholar that he attracted to himself Buddhists from Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand, and other parts of Eastern Turkestan.

While on a visit to Kashgar in 355 A.D., Kumārajīva was introduced by Sūryasoma in the Mahāyana doctrine and made a special study of the Mādhyamika treatises. Vimalākṣa, a Buddhist monk of Kashmir, who had travelled to China by the Central Asian route early in the 5th century, also instructed Kumārajīva in the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya and subsequently collaborated with him in the work of translation for which Kumārajīva is famous.

Not long after his return from Kashmir, a Chinese expeditionary force was led against Kuci by Lii Kuang on account of a rupture in the political relations of the two countries. Kumārajīva was brought in 401 A.D. as a captive to China, where he was already known. Scholars from all parts of the country came to visit him and many stayed behind as disciples.

Chinese Chronicles record that, in the year 405 A.D., the king of the Tsin dynasty showed great respect to Kumārajīva. During the latter's nine years at Changan, he organized a translation bureau to which more than eight hundred priests and scholars were attached. It is said that the king, himself an ardent disciple of the new religion, held the original texts in his hand as the work of translation proceeded and that during that time more than three hundred volumes were prepared under the supervision of Kumārajīva. Until he died, in 413 A.D., he continued to devote his missionary zeal and the knowledge he had gained to the propagation of Buddhism, with the result that a large number of Buddhist monasteries were established in North China. Nine-tenths of the ordinary people are said to have been converted to the faith of the great Indian genius. One of the reasons why Kumārajīva and the faith he expounded were held in high esteem in China was probably the fact that Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of the Imperial House.

Kumārajīva is traditionally regarded as the first teacher



of Mādhyamika doctrines in China and an expounder of Ch'eng-shih-tsung (the Satyasiddhi school) and also of Nieh-p'an-tsung (the Nirvāṇa school).

The work of Kumārajīva heralded a new epoch in the spread of Buddhism to China. With his deep knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and its various schools and his command of Sanskrit and Chinese, Kumārajīva was able to bring greater clarity and distinction to his translations than the earlier missionaries had done.

Between 402 A.D. and 412 A.D., Kumārajīva translated numerous works, and wrote a treatise and a number of verses in Chinese. More than 3,000 priests became his disciples and ten of them subsequently became famous authors of Buddhist treatises.

The following are some of the important texts translated by Kumārajīva:

Ta-c'-tu-lun (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra). Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1169.

Pai-lun (the Śata-śāstra), No. 1188.

Fo-shwo-o-mi-to-cin (the Sukhāvatyaṃṛta-vyūha), No. 200.

Miao-fa-lien-hwa-cin (the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra), No. 134.

Mo-ho-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 3.

Cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Vajrachedikā Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra), No. 10.

When Kumārajīva was on his death-bed, he is reported to have told his followers to accept his work but not to look upon his life as an ideal one. "The lotus grows in the mud," he said, "love the lotus but not the mud."

Kumārājīva is a symbol of the spirit of cultural co-operation between India and Central Asia and of the efforts made by Buddhist scholars to spread Indian culture in China.



Paramārtha

Paramārtha¹ (Po-lo-mo-tho), also known as Cen-ti or Cu-na-lo-tho, Tshin-i, and Guṇarata, was a śramaṇa of Yiu-shan-ni, or Ujjain in western India, which was a great centre of Sanskrit scholarship.

It is believed that after Paramārtha completed his Buddhist education at Ujjain he went to North India and probably settled in Pāṭaliputra. About the same time a Chinese emperor had sent a mission to Magadha to request the king to send a scholar who could teach the gospel of the Buddha to China. It is generally accepted that Paramārtha accompanied the Chinese envoys back to China in response to this request. He carried with him a large collection of Buddhist texts and travelled by the sea route, arriving in Nanking (Kien-yeh) in 548 A.D. In accordance with the desire of the emperor, he began to translate the texts he had brought with him and laboured continuously for nearly ten years. Thereafter he was compelled to wander from place to place on account of political upheavals in China. An attempt made by him to sail to the South Sea Islands proved unsuccessful on account of unfavourable winds. The last years of his life were spent in solitude and retirement and when he died in 569 A.D. at the age of seventy-one he had left behind Chinese translations of nearly 70 Buddhist treatises.

Paramārtha, Bodhiruci, and Yuan Chwang were the three main representatives of the Vijñāna school who translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

Paramārtha's career of translating Sanskrit texts can be divided into two parts, namely, the period from 548 to 557 A.D. and that from 557 to 569 A.D. During the first phase he translated about 10 works, of which six were in existence in 730 A.D. In the second period, he worked on numerous texts under the patronage of the Han dynasty and continued his labours till he died in 569 A.D.

Paramārtha established the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyāna-
I, 513-569 A.D.



samparigraha-śāstra school) in China. This school was based upon many Sanskrit texts translated by him, the most important being the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra, a basic text of that school. This school had eminent disciples and prevailed among Buddhist scholars in China for about 80 years. However, like other Buddhist schools in China, this school, too, suffered from general political restrictions, the deterioration of temples, and the loss of popular support. Besides these conditions, the popularity of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school established by Yuan Chwang might also be considered one of the reasons for the decline of the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra school).

Paramārtha greatly emphasized the necessity of studying the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra, but Yuan Chwang, in his turn, translated the Vidyāmātrasiddhi-śāstra (Chen-wei-shi-lun) and laid emphasis upon the necessity for the study of selected texts, which consist of six sūtras and eleven śāstras, and include the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra.

Thus the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra school) established by Paramārtha was absorbed by the Dharmalakṣaṇa school founded by Yuan Chwang. This school was called the New Translation Method while the She-lun-tsung founded by Paramārtha was known as the Old Translation Method.

In spite of the fact that the She-lun-tsung was absorbed by another school, it is a permanent Chinese Buddhist institution, since the correct understanding of the Vijñānavāda philosophy can come only through a comparative study of the Dharmalakṣaṇa and the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra schools.

Paramārtha's translation of Sanskrit texts runs into 275 volumes, of which the most important are as follows:

1. Fo-shwo-cie-tsie-cin (the Sandhinirmocana-sūtra), Nanjio, No. 151.
2. Cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the chedikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 10.



3. Sho-ta-shan-lun (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra), No. 1183.
4. Kun-pien-fan-pieh-lun (the Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra), No. 1248.
5. O-phi-ta-mo-ku-sho-shih-lun (the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-śāstra), No. 1269.
6. Sho-ta-shan-lun-shih (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra-vyākhyā), No. 1171(2).
7. Luh-'rh-shi-'rh-min-liao-lun (the Vinaya-dvāviṃśati-prasannārtha-śāstra), No. 1139.
8. Shi-pa-khun-lun (the Aṣṭādaśakāśa or the Aṣṭā-daśa-sūnyatā-śāstra), No. 1187.

Bodhidharma

It has been established that Bodhidharma¹ or Dharmabodhi (Ta-ma-phu-thi) was a śramaṇa in India and that he left India for China in 526 A.D. with the special purpose of propagating his system of philosophy but the details of his life are not clearly known.

According to historians, Bodhidharma denied canon reading, and his system therefore made the Buddhist monasteries much less intellectual and much more meditative than they were ever before.

When Bodhidharma came to China, he was received with the honour due to him, and invited to Nanking by Liang Wu-ti, an emperor of southern China. A discussion he is believed to have had with the emperor is reproduced here, for it makes his doctrine clear:

The emperor said, "Since my succession to the throne I have been incessantly establishing temples and so on. How much merit may I expect for that good conduct?" The reply came, "none". The emperor asked, "Why none?" Bodhidharma answered, "All these things are merely insignificant effects of an imperfect cause. It is the shadow following the substance and is without real entity." The emperor said, "Then, what is merit in the true sense of the word?"

1. Died in 528 or 536 A.D.



Bodhidharma replied, "It consists in purity and enlightenment, completeness and depth. Merit as such cannot be accumulated by worldly means". The emperor asked, "Which is the most important of the sacred doctrines?" Bodhidharma replied, "Everything is non-substantiality, and there is no such thing as 'sacred'." The emperor asked, "Who is he that replies to me?" Bodhidharma replied, "I myself do not know who he is!"

As is clear from this dialogue, the essential core of Bodhidharma's doctrine is the philosophy of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), and *śūnyatā* is beyond demonstration of any kind. Therefore, Bodhidharma also replied in the negative form. When we speak of the Buddhist influence on the life and literature of the Chinese people, we have to keep this mystic trend of Bodhidharma's philosophy in mind, for there is no doubt that it has had a great deal to do with the moulding of the spirit of Chinese Buddhism from which Japanese Zen Buddhism (Contemplative Buddhism) has been derived with modifications to render it suitable to the genius of the Japanese people.

It is sometimes said that the Meditative school of Bodhidharma is not a proper form of Buddhism at all, but a syncretism of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Such a supposition is not correct, for, as Bodhidharma said, the spirit of Buddhism is the spirit of the Meditative school.

Bodhidharma's Meditative school naturally underwent many changes as it grew in the Chinese environment. The discipline of this school is akin to that of the Franciscan Order, and its monastic life still exercises a powerful spiritual influence among the Chinese, and especially among the Japanese intelligentsia.

Bodhidharma himself recognized no sanctity in canon reading, and laid stress on meditation, by which alone enlightenment should be attained. Therefore, he translated no more than one work, the exact date of which is not known. That work is *Ta-pa-niē-phan-cin-lun* (the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra*), No. 1206. Bodhidharma had five successors,



who led quiet lives like Bodhidharma, and were held in high esteem by the emperors of the T'ang dynasty.

Yuan Chwang

Yuan Chwang¹ was a Chinese śramaṇa of Lo-yan in Ho-nan, who received his ordination at Chen-tu, in 622 A.D. Under the patronage of the Eastern T'sin dynasty (317—420 A.D.), Yuan Chwang became one of the most noteworthy scholars in China, both as a writer of historical records (Ta-tan-si-yu-ki) and as a translator of Sanskrit texts.

He started on his well-known journey to India in 629 A.D., and returned to the capital of China in 645 A.D. during the Cen-kwan period. He started the work of translating shortly afterwards and was employed in this pursuit until he died in 664 A.D. in his sixty-fifth year. While he was in India, he had lived in the monastery of Nalanda for five years and devoted himself to the study of Brahmanical literature and Buddhist canons. The knowledge and experience thus gained stood him in good stead in the course of his work and he translated as many as 75 treatises into 1,335 fasciculi.

While he was in India, Yuan Chwang studied the Vijñānavāda philosophy under the guidance of Śīlabhadra and introduced the Vijñānavāda philosophy of Dharmarakṣita. Thus, he became the founder of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school which is based on the Vijñānavāda texts and their commentaries.

Yuan Chwang brought with him from India 115 grains of relics taken from the Buddha's seat, a gold statue of the Buddha with a transparent pedestal, and other images of the Buddha made of silver and carved sandal-wood. He also took with him an extensive collection of Sanskrit texts which he translated in China.

The voluminous contribution made by him to Chinese literature through translations from Sanskrit texts consists of

1. 602-664 A. D.



the following according to Khai-Yuen-lu:

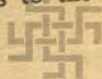
Ta-Shan-pu (Mahāyāna)	...	416	works
Shang-tsu-pu (Theravāda)	...	14	"
San-mi-ti-pu (Sāmmitiyas)	...	15	"
Mi-sha-se-pu (Mahīśāsakas)	...	22	"
Kin-she-pi-ye-pu (Kāśyapiyas)	...	17	"
Fa-mi-pu (Dharmaguptas)	...	42	"
Shwo-i-tsie-yu-pu (Sarvāstivādas)	...	67	"
Ta-shung-pu (Mahāsaṅghika)	...	15	"
Yin-lun (Hetuśāstra)	...	36	"
Shen-lun (Śabdaśāstra)	...	13	"

These works, numbering 657, were carried by twenty-two horses. Soon after he came back to China, he went to Ch'ang-an to translate them.

Yuan Chwang was also a distinguished litterateur in addition to being a translator of unusual merit. When he was considering the propriety of following Paramārtha's method which sometimes omitted repetitions and made certain additions, Yuan Chwang was deterred by a dream and resolved to do a free translation in order to make the original meaning clear. Along with his disciples, Yuan Chwang followed a method of translation which was a departure from that followed by Paramārtha. Yuan Chwang's method of translation subsequently came to be called the 'New Method', while that of Paramārtha was known as the 'Old Method'. Thus, the academic tendency in the translation of Paramārtha and his disciples was replaced by the freedom of Yuan Chwang and his school.

Under the patronage of the emperor, the Buddhist activities of Yuan Chwang and his school flourished satisfactorily, but the situation of Buddhism deteriorated considerably during the time of the sixth emperor of the T'ang dynasty.

Early in the eighth century, the Confucianists started a movement to suppress Buddhism. In 714 A.D., Yen Ts'ung pronounced the view that Buddhism was pernicious to the



country, and ascribed to Buddhism the early termination of those dynasties that had been favourable to it. As a result of an edict issued at this time, nearly 12,000 priests and nuns were compelled to abandon their vocations and return to the lay life. During the reign of Queen Wu, there was a ban on the writing of sacred books and the building of temples.

The several hundred years during which the work of translation progressed in China can be divided historically into three periods of which the following dates are symbolic:

1. 67 A.D., when Buddhism entered China for the first time.
2. 405 A.D., the age of Kumārajīva.
3. 646 A.D., the age of Yuan Chwang.

According to historians, Yuan Chwang was assisted in the work of translation and revision by some Sanskrit scholars. It is also said that, at the request of Yuan Chwang, the emperor issued an order that five new monks should be received into every monastery. The total number of monasteries in the empire at that time was 3,716.

Of the works translated by Yuan Chwang and his disciples, the following are the most important:

1. Ta-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-cin (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1.
2. Wei-shi-san-shi-lun (Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-śāstra), No. 1215.
3. Ta-shan-chan-yeh-lun (the Karmasiddhaprakaraṇa-śāstra), No. 1221.
4. Wei-shi'rh-shi-lun (the Vidyāmātrasiddhi-śāstra), No. 1240.
5. Pien-cun-pien-lun (the Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra), No. 1244.
6. Sho-ta-shan-lun-pan (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstramūla), No. 1247.
7. O-phi-ta-mo-shun-can-li-lun (the Abhidharma-nyāyanusāra-śāstra), No. 1265.



8. Yin-min-nin-can-li-lun (the Hetuvidyā-nyāyapra-veśa-śāstra), No. 1216.
9. Yin-min-can-li-man-lun-pan (the Nyāyadvāratarka-śāstra), No. 1224.
10. Nan-twan-cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Vajrac-hedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 13.

Bodhiruci

Bodhiruci¹, the literal translation of whose name is Ciao-ai, or 'intelligence-loving', was originally called Ta-mo-liu-ci, or Dharmaruci. The latter name can be translated as Fa-hhi, literally 'law-loving'. The original name, Dharmaruci, was changed to Bodhiruci by order of the empress Wu Tso-thien (684—705 A.D.). Bodhiruci was a śramaṇa of southern India who came from a Brāhmaṇa family of Kāśyapa Gotra.

During the days of the early T'ang dynasty, many renowned Buddhist monks came to China from Ceylon, India and Japan. Bodhiruci was among those foreign Buddhists who came to settle permanently in China.

According to a Chinese chronicle, Bodhiruci studied such sciences as astronomy, medicine, geography and divinity, etc., and became a Buddhist in his twelfth year.

Yaśaghoṣa, a Mahāyāna therā, recognized his extraordinary abilities and instructed him in Buddhist practices. Within a period of only three years, Bodhiruci became well-acquainted with the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. When the emperor heard of his activities, he invited him to the capital, where Bodhiruci translated, in 693 A.D., the Fo-shwo-pao-yu-cin (the Ratnamegha-sūtra, Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 151).

Just before his death, he abstained from all meals, holding and worshipping Sanskrit texts. When he was about to die, he asked his followers to leave him, and passed away in his solitary room. It is said that Bodhiruci was in his 156th year when he died in 727 A.D., having devoted his entire life to the work of translating Sanskrit texts.

The regime of the T'ang rulers was favourable to Bud-

1. 571-727 A. D.



dhism and such scholars as Yuan Chwang and Bodhiruci freely translated many Buddhist texts brought from India.

In 693—713 A.D., Bodhiruci translated 53 works which ran into 111 fasciculi. Of these, 12 were already missing in 730 A.D. In the history of Buddhism in China there were two outstanding scholars who were both called Bodhiruci. One of these worked under the patronage of the T'ang dynasty while the other was the founder of Ti-lun-tsung (the Daśabhūmika school) under the Wei dynasty. Although the former Bodhiruci was not a founder of any school, he was recognized as one of the greatest translators of Buddhist texts.

His most important translations are:

1. Shih-sian-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Prajñāpāramitā-ardhaśatikā), Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 18.
2. Ta-pao-tsi-cin (the Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra), No. 23.
3. Wu-lian-sheu-ju-lai-hwui (the Amitāyusa-vyūha), No. 23(5).
4. Wan-shu-sh'li-phi-man-hwui (the Samantamukha-parivarta), No. 23(10).
5. Yiu-po-li-hwui (the Vinayaviniścaya-Upāli-paripṛcchā), No. 23(24).
6. Mi-lo-phi-sa-su-wan-hwui (the Maitreya-paripṛcchā), No. 23(42).
7. Ta-shan-cin-kan-ci-cu-phi-sa-siu-hhin-fan-cin (the Mahāyānavajra - cuḍāmaṇi-bodhisattva-caryā-varga-sūtra), No. 86.
8. Fo-shwo-pao-yu-cin (the Ratnamegha-sūtra), No. 151.
9. Ta-shan-cie-ye-shan-tin-cin (the sūtra of the Mahāyāna), No. 241.
10. Wan-shu-sh'li-pao-tsan-tho-lo-ni-cin (the Mañjuśrī-ratnagarbhadhāraṇī-sūtra), No. 448.

D. IN JAPAN

There are 13 principal sects of Buddhism in Japan and the founder of each is regarded in that country as a great

Buddhist monk. An account is given below of the four monks who contributed most to the establishment of Japanese Buddhism.

Kukai

No other monk has been more popular than Kukai¹ among the Japanese nor regarded with greater respect throughout the ages. He is even more famous among a group of people known as the Kobo Daishi. As a monk of the Shingon sect he systematized the doctrine of his sect by writing Ju-ju-shin-ron (a treatise on the ten stages of the mind), Ken-mitsunikyo-ron (a treatise on the distinction between Tāntric Buddhism and other sects) and other works. His contribution to Japanese culture in the field of the arts, education, and social welfare was considerable. A poem, popular even now, in which the principal doctrine of Buddhism is taught in easy, beautiful Japanese and which consists of the forty-seven letters of the Japanese alphabet, called Iroha-uta, is also attributed to him. He died at Kongobuji, the leading monastery of the Shingon sect, but his followers think that he merely entered into Nyujo, i.e., eternal samādhi.

Shinran

Shiran², the founder of the Jodo-shin sect, is the most important personality by whose efforts Buddhism penetrated deep into the hearts of the common people of Japan. Quite unlike the other Buddhist monks, he lived an ordinary life and never called himself a teacher. During the long 90 years of his life, he spent many years in the country among farmers and peasants and found among them a number of 'fellow-devotees'. He wrote in easy Japanese many articles which showed his profound devotion to Amitābha Buddha. Of these, 'Tannisho' and 'Kyo-gyo-shinsho' are the most important.

1. 774-835 A.D.

2. 1175-1262 A.D.



Dogen

Dogen¹, the founder of the Soto Zen sect, is known not only for his stern religious character but also as one of the most prominent philosophers of Japan.

As a monk of Zen Buddhism he cared little for worldly honour. He lived a life of strict discipline and devoted himself to discovering those individuals who were really worthy of being the teachers of mankind through Zen meditation. Residing at Eiheiiji, the leading monastery of the Soto sect, which he had founded, he laid down rules of conduct in Zen monasteries which were accepted by all followers of Zen Buddhism in Japan. He gave regular sermons at Eiheiiji to his disciples who collected and published them after his death. Of these sermons, the most important is called 'Sho-bo-gen-zo (the Essence of the True Doctrine), which is considered to be one of the most eminent philosophical works in Japan, not only by his followers but also by the philosophers of other schools.

Nichiren

Nichiren² was as eminent a Buddhist monk as he was a great patriot. He lived during the period when Japan was faced with the danger of invasion by the Mongolian Emperor of China. He was convinced that the Buddhism taught in the Saddharmapundarika-sūtra was the only real one and that it alone could save his nation from the danger of foreign invasion. His life was a succession of persecutions by the Government on account of his views. Nevertheless, the burning patriotism he preached in his sermons as well as his simple doctrine gained for him much sympathy and devotion among the Japanese people. The sect founded by him was called the Nichiren sect after him, and he was looked upon by the followers of the Nichiren sect as a 'Mahābodhisattva' who saved the nation.

1. 1200-1253 A.D.

2. 1222-1282 A.D.



APPENDIX

LIST No. 1

Letters of Indian Paṇḍits preserved in Tibetan

From	To	Name	Time	Tanjur (Mdo-ḥgrel)
Mātṛceṭa	Kaniṣka	Mahārāja Kaniska.	1st century A.D.	Gi 34, Ne 29
Nāgārjuna	Udāyibhadra (Śātavāhana)	Suhṛllekha	2nd century A.D.	Gi 32, Ne 27
Candragomin	Vīratatna- kīrti	Śiṣyalekha	6th century A.D.	Gi 33, Ne 28
Jitāri*	..	Cittaratna- viśodhan- krama.	11th century A.D.	Gi 39, Ne 30
Bodhibhadra (Somapuri).	..	Gurulekha	Do.	Gi 39, Ne 31
Sajjana.	Sūkṣmajñāna	Putralekha	Do.	Gi 39, Ne 32
Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	Nayapāla	Vimalaratna- lekha.	Do.	Gi 103, Ne 33
Jaganmitrā- nanda.	Jayacandra	Candrarāja- lekha.	12th century A.D.	Gi 103, Ne 34

*Jetāri, according to the Tohoku University Catalogue (1934).



LIST No. 2

Some important works of Atiśa translated into Tibetan with the help of Tibetan translators

Name of Book	Author	Translator
Madhyamaka-ratnapradīpa	Bhavya	Rgya Chon, Grus, Sen Ge (Vikramasingh)
Madhyamakahr̥daya-kārikā	Bhavya	(Nag. Cho) Chhul, Khrims rGyal Va (Śīlajaya or Jayaśīla), Lhasa.
Madhyamakahr̥daya-kārikā Vṛtti.	Bhavya	Do.
Madhyamakārtha-sangraha	Bhavya	Do.
Madhyamakabhramaghāṭa	Āryadeva	Do.
Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa	Candrakīrti	Do.
Ratnākaraṇḍodghāṭa	Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	Rgya Lochavā and Śīlajaya (Jayaśīla).
Śikṣāsamuccayābhisamaya	Suvarṇadvīpiya Dharmapāla	Śīlajaya.
Bodhipathapradīpa	Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	(Shu.) dGe-Vahi-Blo Gros.
Bodhipathapradīpa-pañjikā	Do.	Śīlajaya (Jayaśīla).
Mahāsūtrasamuccaya	Do.	Jayānand and (Pa Chhab.) Ni Ma Grags.



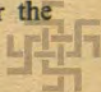
CHAPTER X

Chinese Travellers

About the seventh century A.D., when Europe was still in the 'Dark Ages', India and China lived an intense political, intellectual, religious and artistic life. The common bond created between them by Buddhism generated a great current of humanism which spread from Ceylon to Japan. After a thousand years of eventful development, Buddhist mysticism reached its apogee and Indian aesthetics and philosophy received fresh inspiration from it. Śīlabhadra of Nalanda and his pupil, Yuan Chwang, the Master of the Law from China, represent one aspect, while the outburst of naturalism in art at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) may be taken to represent another. Both were borne along by a current of creative forces of enduring value. China, realizing a new unity under strong T'ang rule, was hospitable to new ideas and ready to allow its force to be softened by the gentle influence of India. Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, only two well-known pilgrims among many, have left records which recall much of this vast movement in which even Japan had a share. The temple of Horyuji, founded by Shotoku Taisha at Nara in 607 A.D., still remains the time-honoured witness of this transformation. Fa-hien, two centuries earlier, was its precursor, the earliest Chinese visitor to India to leave a record of his travels.

Fa-hien

Fa-hien, the first of the three Chinese pilgrims, has recorded his own travels. He practically walked all the way from Central China across the Gobi desert, over the

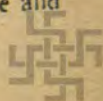


Hindu Kush and right across Northern India to the seaport of Tāmralipti in Bengal. There he embarked for Ceylon and returned to China by sea after an adventurous voyage marked by several hairbreadth escapes. He brought back with him what he had gone to seek in India—sacred books of Buddhism and images of Buddhist deities.

Fa-hien was distressed at the state of the Buddhist 'disciplines' in China, and made up his mind, together with several friends, to go to India and try to obtain the 'rules'. Starting from Chang-an and travelling by stages they reached Tun-huang at the end of the great wall; the governor of that place gave them all that was required to enable them to cross the Gobi desert. "In this desert", records Fa-hien, "there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way."

He notices the prevalence of Indian culture in the states he visited in Central Asia. In the country of Shan-Shan (south of Lop-Nor) there were some four thousand priests of the Lesser Vehicle and the common people practised the religion of India with certain modifications. "From this point travelling westwards, the nations that one passes through are all similar in this respect . . . At the same time, all those who have 'left the family' (priests and novices) study Indian books and the Indian spoken language." The pilgrim spent two months and some days in Kara-shahr which also had over 4,000 priests of the Lesser Vehicle.

His next important stage was Khotan, a prosperous and happy State with tens of thousands of priests, mostly of the Greater Vehicle. Fa-hien and his companions were lodged in the large and comfortable Gomati Vihāra by the ruler of the country. Discipline in the vihāra was perfect. "At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is grave and



ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence; they make no clatter with their bowls, etc.; and they do not call out to the attendants to serve more food, but only make signs with their hands."

While some of his companions advanced to Kashgar, Fa-hien and others stayed behind in Khotan for three months to be able to witness the impressive procession of images in which the priests of the Gomati took the first place among the fourteen large monasteries (without counting the smaller ones) and the king and queen and the Court ladies also took part. The procession was like the Car Festival held in a large Indian temple to this day, only more gorgeous. "The cars are all different; each monastery has a day for its own procession, beginning on the first of the fourth moon and lasting until the fourteenth when the processions end and the king and queen go back to the palace."

Seven or eight *li*—a *li* is about a third of a mile—to the west of the city of Khotan was the king's New Monastery which took eighty years to build, was about 250 feet high and commanded the devotion and munificence of the kings of six countries.

After the processions were over, Fa-hien moved on and reached Kashgar after more than two months, in time to witness the pañca-pariṣad, 'the great quinquennial assembly held by the king of that country. Such an assembly was held in India at a later date by the great Harṣa Vardhana of Kanauj in the presence of Yuan Chwang.

The Kashgar assembly must, however, have been much smaller. The pious and credulous Fa-hien says of Kashgar, "This country has a spittoon which belonged to the Buddha; it is made of stone and is of the same colour as his alms bowl. There is also a relic of the Buddha's teeth, for which people have raised a pagoda." Many notes on relics and miracles can be found throughout the narrative, but we must pass them by, stopping to note only the most interesting or significant among them.

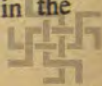
A particularly dangerous section of his route along the



Bolor-Tagh range and the first crossing of the Indus as described by Fa-hien are worth reproducing. "Keeping to the range, the party journeyed on in a south-westerly direction for fifteen days over a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road, the side of the mountain being like a stone wall ten thousand feet in height. On nearing the edge, the eye becomes confused; and wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting place. Below, there is a river named Indus. The men of former times had cut away the rock to make a way down, and had placed ladders on the side of the rock. There are several hundred rock-steps in all; and when these and the ladders have been negotiated, the river is crossed by a suspension bridge of ropes. The two banks of the river are somewhat less than eighty paces apart."

After spending the next summer in retreat in Udyāna, then a flourishing centre of Buddhism, Fa-hien marched South to Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā, where the Master cut off his head for a fellow creature, and records the Buddha's prophecy that Kaniṣka would raise a pagoda in Peshawar. This pagoda was seen and described at length by Yuan Chwang, and its foundations are believed to have been discovered by archæologists. Fa-hien also writes: "Of all the pagodas and temples seen by the pilgrims, not one could compare with this in grandeur and dignity, and tradition says that of the various pagodas in the inhabited world this one takes the highest rank."

From Peshawar Fa-hien proceeded alone to Nagarahāra (Hadda), his companions having left him. That city had a shrine containing the Buddha's skull bone. It was sealed with eight seals every night for safety, each in the custody of one of the leading men in the city. "Every morning the king makes offerings and worships the relic." Half a yojana to the south of the city the pilgrim notes the cave inside which the Buddha left his shadow. "The kings of the various countries round about", he affirms, "have sent skilful artists to sketch it, but they have not been able to do so." Fa-hien also notes the other sacred spots and relics in the



neighbourhood.

In Afghanistan, which he entered after crossing the Safed Koh, there were three thousand priests belonging to both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles; there were the same number at Bannu, but all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. Crossing the Panjab, the pilgrim reached the Mathura country after passing many monasteries where there were nearly ten thousand priests. Buddhism was very popular in the Mathura region and its priests were honoured by the people and the officials of the Court who waited personally upon them at table. "At the end of the meal they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the president not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of priests"—an arrangement handed down from the days of the Buddha.

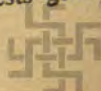
Then Fa-hien reached the Middle Kingdom, the heart of the Gupta Empire. His oft-quoted description of the country is brief but to the point: "It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away may go; those who want to stop may stop. The King in his administration has no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the King's body-guard have all fixed salaries." In the rest of what he says, however, Fa-hien seems to apply to the whole country what he observed in the vihāras; for he affirms: "Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic." Again, "In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-place." He takes note particularly of the cāṇḍālas (untouchables) who lived apart, had to announce their presence on the roads in the city or near the market by beating a piece of wood, and were the only class that went hunting and dealt in flesh. Cowries were



used as a medium of exchange, and charitable endowments in favour of Buddhist priests were numerous, time-honoured and well respected. "Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes are provided for resident and travelling priests without fail, and this is the same in all places."

Fa-hien then visited in succession Saṅkāśya (Kapitha); Kanyākubja (Kanauj)—'the city of hump-back maidens'; Shā-ki, Sāketa or Ayodhyā; Śrāvastī with its shrine of the Garden of Gold, a place where many miracles were performed and are duly noticed by the pilgrim; Kapilavastu, the city of Śuddhodana, the Buddha's father—"then just like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families"; Vaisali (Besarh); and the country of Magadha and the city of Pāṭaliputra where he saw the marvellous palace of Aśoka 'all built by spirits'. He has high praise for Magadha. "Of all the countries of central India, this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practising charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year, on the eighth day of the second moon, they have a procession of images." He mentions the free hospitals in the cities with much admiration. From there he went to Nalanda (Bargaon), Rājagṛha and Gaya—"a complete waste within its walls", but surrounded by many hallowed spots, all duly noted by Fa-hien; Banaras, including the Deer Forest at Sarnath, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, and lastly Kauśāmbī with its garden of Ghociravana, the Ghoṣitārāma of recent discovery. At this point he records what he heard of the Pārāvata monastery in the Deccan; the account is unreliable and not easily matched by known facts.

From Banaras Fa-hien returned to Pāṭaliputra. What he records of his efforts to gain written texts of Buddhism is interesting. Usually, they were transmitted orally from generation to generation, and only at the shrine of the Garden of Gold in Śrāvastī in a monastery of the Greater Vehicle he 'obtained a copy according to the text accepted at the First Great Assembly and practised by priests gene-



rally while the Buddha was still alive'—a declaration that modern scholars will not be ready to accept. Fa-hien spent three years 'learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines'. He then moved on to Tamluk by way of Campā and stayed two years there 'copying out sūtras and drawing pictures of images' before embarking for Ceylon on his way back to China.

Sailing in a big merchant vessel with the first favourable monsoon wind, Fa-hien reached Ceylon in fourteen days and spent two years there collecting and copying Sanskrit texts unknown in China. Early in his stay on the island, Fa-hien felt homesick. "He had now been away from his own land of Han for many years . . . moreover, those who had travelled with him had left him—some remaining behind in these countries, others being dead. Now, beholding only his own shadow, he was constantly sad at heart; and when suddenly, by the side of this jade image (of the Buddha of Abhayagiri vihāra of Anurādhapura), he saw a merchant make offering of a white silk fan from China, his feelings overcame him and his eyes filled with tears." Fa-hien describes the vihāras, the Tooth festival, and Mihintale, and gives an attractive account of Sinhalese Buddhism as a whole.

From Ceylon Fa-hien sailed in another big merchant vessel carrying two hundred souls or more; there was a smaller vessel also in tow. After sailing for two days the ship encountered a violent storm which lasted for thirteen days; Fa-hien spent his time in prayer fixing his thoughts upon Kuan Yin, the Hearer of Prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China. He was also afraid that the merchants might throw his books and images overboard. But nothing happened; a leak in the vessel was discovered near an island and stopped, and Java was reached after another storm-tossed voyage of over ninety days. Fa-hien stayed in Java for five months or so; there he found Brahmanism flourishing 'while the Faith of the Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition'. Another big merchant vessel and an equally troublesome and pro-



tracted voyage brought him to the prefecture of Ch'ing-chou in China where he spent a winter and a summer before going south to the capital, Nanking, where he handed over to the ecclesiastics the sūtras and the Disciplines he had collected.

The conclusion of his account is very touching, he says: "Fa-hien spent six years in travelling from Ch'ang-an to central India; he stayed there for six years, and it took him three more to reach Ch'ing-chou. The countries he passed through amounted to rather fewer than thirty. From the sandy desert westwards all the way to India the dignified deportment of the priesthood and the good influence of the Faith were beyond all expression in detail. As, however, the ecclesiastics at home had had no means of hearing about these things, Fa-hien had given no thought to his own unimportant life, but came home across the seas, encountering still more difficulties and dangers. Happily, he was accorded protection by the divine majesty of the Precious Trinity, and was thus preserved in the hour of danger. Therefore, he wrote down on bamboo tablets and silk an account of what he had been through, desiring that the gentle reader should share this information."

Yuan Chwang

Born at Lo-yang in 602, Yuan Chwang amazed his father even at the age of eight by his observance of the Confucian rites, and it looked as if, like many of his ancestors, he would be a famous literary man of the traditional type. But the example of his elder brother who had just become a Buddhist monk influenced him, and he also took his vows in the monastery of Lo-yang when he was just thirteen. He began the study of Indian philosophy and soon mastered its intricacies. About 617 A.D., the end of Sui rule plunged the country into disorder from which it did not recover till Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung established his firm rule after a series of brilliant campaigns begun in 618 A.D., the year in which Yuan Chwang sought refuge from anarchy in the mountains of Spu-ch'uan. In spite of the trouble, however,



he soon mastered the Law of Buddhism and held many popular discourses. He thus rapidly qualified for the first place in philosophical debates wherever Sanskrit learning prevailed—from the Deccan to Japan, from Turfan to Sumatra. The capital of the new dynasty, Ch'ang-an (now Si-am-fu), one of the chief centres of Buddhism in the Far East, became the centre of his activity from 662 A.D. But soon he was struck by the numerous differences among the schools and uncertainties in doctrine, and he made a vow to travel to the countries of the West and learn the truth from the wise men there on the points which were troubling his mind.

But when he applied for permission to leave China, the Emperor refused it. However, putting his trust in the invisible protection of the saints of Buddhism, the intrepid monk persisted in his plan. He was twenty-six when he set forth on his journey, and handsome and tall, like many Chinese of the North. People discouraged him on sundry occasions, but were impressed by his calm courage and helped him to the best of their ability. He travelled secretly, hiding by day and travelling by night. Mirages and apparitions thwarted him often; near one frontier fortress he was shot at and narrowly escaped death from an arrow. In spite of everything, he crossed the desert all alone with nothing to guide him except his own shadow and reached Ha-mi, where he received an invitation from the king of Turfan (then known as Kao-ch'ang), a pious Buddhist.

Turfan in the central part of the Gobi, to all intents and purposes dead to-day, then throbbed with the lively economic, political and cultural life of a Buddhist population speaking a dialect of Tocharian. Its ruler, Ch'u-Wen-tai (620—40 A.D.), was of Chinese extraction; he was a vassal of the Turkish Khan and had relations with T'ai-tsung. His invitation to Yuan Chwang was a command and the pilgrim was almost carried off by force to Turfan. A pious Buddhist, but somewhat rough and ready, Ch'u-Wen-tai, although most hospitable and respectful to Yuan Chwang, had planned to



detain him personally in his Court as its ecclesiastical head. "I insist on keeping you", he said, "in order to offer you my homage, and it would be easier to shift the mountain of Pamir than to shake my determination." "It is for the sublime Law that I have come," replied Yuan Chwang heroically, "the king will only be able to keep my bones; he has no power over my spirit nor my will." He followed this up by refusing to touch food for three days; the king became alarmed and yielded. The Master of the Law agreed to stay a month longer to preach at the Court, and at the end of the month the king let him go well provided with introductions to all the kings on his route, including the Turkish Khan whose writ ran to the very gates of India. Yuan Chwang was no longer an unknown refugee fleeing in secret; but an accredited pilgrim with an official standing. He was sumptuously provided for for the rest of the journey to India.

From Turfan he proceeded to Kara-shahr, also a Tocharish-speaking city, which contained some ten monasteries and two thousand monks of the Hīnayāna sect. The people here were friendly to Yuan Chwang, but not to his Turfan escort; so he spent only one night there and moved on to Kucha (Skt. Kuchi), perhaps the most important town in Central Asia at the time and an Indian outpost, but subject to Iranian influences also. Its material prosperity and the brilliance of its civilization impressed Yuan Chwang, and archaeological explorations in the twentieth century have enabled scholars to reconstruct many a probable scene in which the Master of the Law may have taken part. But Kucha was only an oasis in the Gobi, surrounded and coveted by the Turko-Mongols, and its ruling classes were forced to remain warriors. The throne of Kucha was still occupied by a Tocharian ruler, Suvarṇa-deva, the son and successor of Suvarṇa-puṣpa. In his kingdom there were 5,000 monks to whom he gave active protection. He maintained diplomatic relations with the T'ang emperor. At Kucha Yuan Chwang engaged in religious disputations with Hīnayāna monks who did not take kindly to the Yoga-śāstra which



Yuan Chwang preferred. But the difference did not take an unfriendly turn, and amiable relations were maintained with the old sage Mokṣagupta of Kucha during two more months that the Master of the Law was forced to spend there on account of the weather. When he left, the king gave him servants, camels, horses, a whole caravan, and accompanied him to the outskirts of the city followed by the monks and lay devotees of the town.

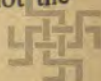
Two days after he had left Kucha, Yuan Chwang encountered robber bands on the road; and then came the glaciers on the slopes of the T'ien-Shan. These he has described picturesquely, anticipating some of the great explorers of recent times. He worked his way to the region of Issiq-Kul (warm lake) where the great Khan of the Western Turks had encamped. This was early in 630 A.D. The Khan was not devoid of religious culture and had leanings towards Buddhism which his predecessors had been taught fifty years before by a monk from Gandhāra, Jinagupta by name. The Khan had established his sway as far as Gandhāra. He treated Yuan Chwang with great deference, invited him to dinner with the Chinese envoys and ambassadors from the king of Turfan and provided him with 'pure food'—rice cakes, cream, milk, crystallized sugar, honey and raisins. At the end of the dinner, the master expounded the principles of his faith, and the Khan joyously said that he accepted the teaching with the faith. After making an unsuccessful effort to dissuade the master from continuing his journey, he gave him his official protection for the journey to India which enabled him easily to cross the passes of the Pamirs and Bactria.

Samarquand, Marakanda of old, was already an ancient city in the seventh century. It was the capital of Sogdiana and Yuan Chwang's next important halt. It was the terminus of the caravan routes between India and China, and was rich in rare and precious merchandise. It wavered between Zoroastrianism and Buddhism and the master's visit did much to raise the status of Buddhism in this Turko-Iranian king-



dom; he held an assembly at which he ordained a number of monks and restored the old desecrated monasteries for worship. From Samarquand, the pilgrim marched South over difficult mountain routes till he reached the 'Gates of Iron', the southern frontier of the Western Turkish Empire, at the end of the defile through which even now passes the caravan track between Samarquand and the Oxus.

South of the Gates of Iron, Yuan Chwang crossed the Oxus and entered Bactria, then under the rule of Tardu Shad, a son of the great Khan of the Turks, and brother-in-law of the king of Turfan, who was also a pious Buddhist. Bactria probably received its Buddhism very early from the missions of Aśoka. At time of the master's arrival, there occurred the death of the Turfan princess. Tardu Shad took a new queen almost immediately, but she loved her stepson more than her husband; she poisoned the king and put her lover on the throne. The latter was friendly to Yuan Chwang and persuaded him to visit Balkh, the capital city, before going South. Balkh and Bactria still had many monasteries, in spite of the ruin wrought by the Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries, and though they were all Hīnayānist, the master was on friendly terms with them and he derived much good, he says, from his conversations with one of their doctors, Prajñākara. Then the pilgrim made the most difficult crossing of the Hindu Kush and reached Bamiyan, a station of primary importance on the road from Central Asia to India. Modern archæologists were struck by the accuracy of his description of the site. "On the north", he says, "it leans against the steep rock. This country has winter corn, but few flowers and fruits. It is suitable for cattle breeding and abounds in sheep and horses. The climate is very cold. Manners are rough. Clothing is of fur and coarse woollen materials, which are also products of the country." There were ten Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks in them. Yuan Chwang mentions the celebrated grottos and the two colossal statues of the Buddha, about 170 and 115 feet high, but somehow not the



frescoes which have evoked great interest in our times. The gilt surface of one of the large Buddhas led him to think that it was a statue of bronze.

He left Bamiyan for Kapiśa by the difficult pass of Shibar, 9,000 feet high, where he was overtaken by a storm and lost his way which he regained with the aid of local hunters. Kapiśa (now the village of Begram) to the north of Kabul commanded the principal passes of the Hindu Kush, and consequently the great trade routes between India and Bactria; it abounded in every kind of merchandise. The king was a devout Buddhist of the Mahāyāna persuasion. To please Prajñākara, his travelling companion from Balkh, the master lived in a Hīnayāna monastery, but at the king's request, took part in an assembly of different sects, which lasted five days. After spending the summer of 630 A.D. there, he took the road to the east again and reached Jalalabad, ancient Nagarahāra, through Lampaka. Here he was on Indian soil proper and he duly noted the contrast between the mountain country he had left behind with its sturdy people, and the hot plains of thinner, easy-going men. He says: "At Lampaka the ground is suitable for the cultivation of rice, and produces a large quantity of sugar-cane . . . The climate is fairly mild. There is some frost but never snow . . . The inhabitants live in ease and happiness, and love song. They are, moreover, effeminate, pusillanimous and given to fraud . . . They are short in stature and their movements are brisk and impetuous. The majority are clothed in white cotton, and like to adorn their costume with brilliantly coloured ornaments." This land of Greco-Buddhism, rich in its artistic tradition, had suffered terribly at the hands of the Huns and now had only ruined monasteries and works of art. The Arab invasion, twenty years later, dealt the final death-blow. From here the master made a hazardous diversion on a road infested with brigands to visit a cave in which the Buddha after quelling the Nāga Gopāla had left his shadow. He gives a thrilling account of his encounter with robbers, and of the miracle vouchsafed to him in the cave, a remarkable instance



of courage, persistence and faith.

From Lampaka the pilgrim entered Gandhāra by the Khyber Pass. This was a second holy land of Buddhism where art had flourished for nearly six centuries without a break under strong Greco-Roman influence. Peshawar, the capital of Kaniṣka, had given birth to Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu, the two chief authors of mystical idealism so dear to Yuan Chwang. But when he came to Peshawar, it had suffered from the Huns like other places. He notes sadly: "The royal race is wiped out and the country has been annexed to the kingdom of Kapiśa. Towns and villages are almost empty and abandoned, and only a few inhabitants are seen in the country. One corner of the royal town (Peshawar) contains about a thousand families . . . There are a million Buddhist monasteries which are in ruins and deserted. They are overgrown with weeds and they make a mournful solitude. The majority of the stūpas are also in ruins." Still the pilgrim made it a point to visit most of the hallowed spots, till he left the main road to India for a northerly excursion into the mountain country of Udyāna or Uḍḍiyāna which had suffered even more than Gandhāra from Hun inroads; once it had 1,400 vihāras and 18,000 monks; the country had not yet ceased to be Buddhist and the people were divided between the two vehicles, though Mahāyāna Buddhism was tending towards Tantrism. Leaving Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, the master crossed the Indus at Udabhaṇḍa or Uḍakakhaṇḍa (north of Attock) and visited Takṣaśilā where too there were many monasteries ruined by the Huns. From there he went for a while to Kashmir where Buddhism still prevailed. There were still a hundred monasteries with 5,000 monks, and the country cherished memories of Aśoka and Kaniṣka. The king of Kashmir received the pilgrim with great honour in his capital, Pravarapura (Srinagar). Yuan Chwang found there a venerable Mahāyānist doctor aged seventy, from whom he was able to receive in all its purity the tradition of the idealist school of Buddhist philosophy. He spent two years in



Kashmir, from May 631 to April 633 A.D., studying philosophy and having Buddhist sūtras and śāstras copied to take home with him to China.

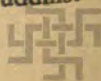
Coming down from Kashmir, one of his first halting places was Sākala (Sialkot), the seat of the Greek king Menander of old, and of the Hun tyrant Mahirakula (or Mihirakula) of more recent times, but also the shelter, two centuries before the master's visit, of the illustrious philosopher, Vasubandhu. On his way thence to Cīnabhukti on the left bank of the Beas, the master narrowly escaped a band of brigands and then met an old brāhmaṇa who was learned in Buddhist doctrine (Mādhyamika) with whom he spent a month in a village. He lived over a year in Cīnabhukti and went in 634 A.D. to Jālandhara during the rains. He next went to Mathura, famous in Hindu tradition and Buddhist art, and it may be presumed that he saw and admired the celebrated standing Buddha, a masterpiece of Gupta art, now in the National Museum, New Delhi. From Mathura he ascended the Yamuna up to Sthāneśvara in Kurukṣetra; modern scholars are agreed that his remarks about the latter show that he recalled the Mahābhārata war and the essence of the Bhagavadgītā. Travelling East, he reached the upper Ganges and observed the growing triumph of Hinduism and the relative decline of his own creed. He visited Kapitha (old Saṅkāśya) and like Fa-hien witnessed the miracles associated with the place. Though he spent some months in Kanyākubja, which Harṣa had made the political capital of the North, he did not meet the king who was away in the East and afterwards became his great friend and patron. His account of Harṣa is marked by deep admiration: "His rule", he says, "was just and humane. He forgot to eat and drink in the accomplishment of good works." On the whole, however, we think that Yuan Chwang exaggerates the monarch's Buddhist leanings just as his Court poet Bāṇa lays undue stress on the Śaivism of the king, who seems really, like many other Indian rulers, to have held the scales even between the different creeds which



existed in his kingdom. After visiting Ayodhyā and on his way to Prayag along the Ganges, the master fell into the hands of water thugs, devotees of Durgā, who wanted to sacrifice him to their goddess; courage, prayer, and a miraculous and timely storm saved the pilgrim's journey from an untimely end. At Prayag he noted again with regret that Buddhists were in the minority, and passed on to Kauśāmbī where he was shown mementos of the Buddha's visit, of Vasubandhu's writing and of Asaṅga's life, though as everywhere else Brahmanism was in the ascendant.

Here the master made up his mind to visit the birth-place of the Buddha without further delay and turned due North. First he came to Śrāvastī, the hamlet of Sahet-Mahet, on the right bank of the Rāptī, practically deserted at the time but full of sacred spots and memories; then Kapilavastu, the Buddha's native town with the garden of Lumbinī where he was born; then Rāmagrāma and lastly Kuśinagara (Kasia, on the right bank of the middle Gandak) where he attained nirvāṇa. All these places have been satisfactorily identified by modern archaeology, and this imparts a vivid significance to the pilgrim's narrative of what he saw and heard. From here, Yuan Chwang went along a forest route straight to Banaras, a place sacred alike to Hindus and Buddhists.

Yuan Chwang's account of Banaras is curiously modern. "The greater part worship Śiva. Some cut off their hair, others pile it on the top of their heads. Some there are (the Jainās) who are naked, others rub their bodies with ash, or practise cruel mortifications in order to escape saṃsāra . . ." He mentions a colossal statue of Śiva 'full of grandeur and majesty'. He must also have seen at Sarnath the seated Buddha turning the Wheel of Law, 'the purest incarnation of the Gupta ideal' in art. The city was full of tender and marvellous legends. From Banaras the pilgrim went further north to Vaisali (Besarh), the city of the famous courtesan Āmrapālī who offered to the Saṅgha the park of mango trees; at Vaisali also the second Buddhist



Council had been held a hundred years after the Buddha's passing.

Magadha in southern Bihar was the true sacred land of Buddhism, the most important region for the pilgrim. Its capital, Pāṭaliputra, the centre of two great empires in the past, was in decay, and the pilgrim saw the ruins of many palaces and viḥāras of which scarcely two or three still stood. He describes with deep emotion his journey from Pāṭaliputra to Bodh Gaya, the place where the Buddha attained knowledge and where almost every square foot of ground had witnessed sacred scenes. Yuan Chwang was not only a keen philosopher learned in the doctrine, but a man of tender piety which suffuses the narrative of his visits to these sacred spots. To the north-east of Bodh Gaya lay Nalanda, the great international university of the time. Yuan Chwang's detailed description of this enormous foundation, richly endowed by the munificence of generations of kings and nobles, is well borne out by modern excavations. There were ten huge viḥāras with spaces between divided into eight courtyards, all within a brick wall enclosure. There were ten thousand monks, all followers of the Mahāyāna. They eagerly studied, besides Buddhist works, the Vedas, medicine, arithmetic, the occult sciences and other popular subjects. The head of the establishment was the old and venerable Śīlabhadra who came in the direct line of Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu's pupils and summed up in himself the final result of seven centuries of Indian thought. Some time earlier he had had a dream which warned him of the coming of the Chinese Master of the Law; so he received him with honour, and the pilgrim spent fifteen months there learning the Yogācāra doctrine which he afterwards cast in the form of a book known as the Siddhi; he also studied Brāhmaṇa philosophy and perfected his knowledge of Sanskrit. He interrupted his studies for a while only to visit Rājagṛha of ancient fame where the first Buddhist Council had met soon after the death of the Blessed One. After leaving Nalanda, Yuan Chwang spent the year



638 A.D. in Bengal and Campā, and finally reached Tāmralipti, intending to embark for Ceylon to study the Hīnayāna there.

Tāmralipti was a great emporium in those days and the pilgrim must have met many sailors and traders from the eastern lands; he gives a fairly accurate and valuable, though brief, account of the Hindu kingdoms of contemporary Indo-China. Some monks from the South told Yuan Chwang that Ceylon was within easy reach of South India, and there was no need to risk a long sea voyage. He accepted the advice and worked his way south to Kāñcīpuram by way of Orissa, Mahākośala, the land of Nāgārjuna and Ārya Deva, as also Kipling's Mowgli, Andhra and the Telugu-Goḍa countries. His observations on the people and politics are very valuable. He probably spent the rainy season of 639 A.D. at Amarāvati and reached Kāñcī in 640 A.D. There he learned that Ceylon was in turmoil; a civil war was raging and he had to give up his idea of a visit to the island. He worked his way back to the North by western Deccan, no doubt meeting Pulakeśin II, the great Badami Cālukya ruler at Nasik (641 A.D.), and visiting Bharukaccha (Bharoch) and Valabhī. Here he learnt much about Iran on the eve of the onslaught of Islam and his picture of the Sassanid empire just before its fall is of great value to history.

After visiting Sindh and Multan in the West, Yuan Chwang turned towards the East for a second stay at Nalanda and its neighbourhood where great Mahāyāna scholars like Jayasena lived; when his visits to the holy places were over, the master gave his time up fully to his studies; he was interested in many subjects and had vast, encyclopaedic learning. He often took part in philosophical debates and delighted in exposing the flaws in other creeds. But his thoughts were ever directed to his return to China to give her the benefit of his new learning, and he turned down the request of the monks of Nalanda that he should not leave them. Indian kings heard of the Chinese

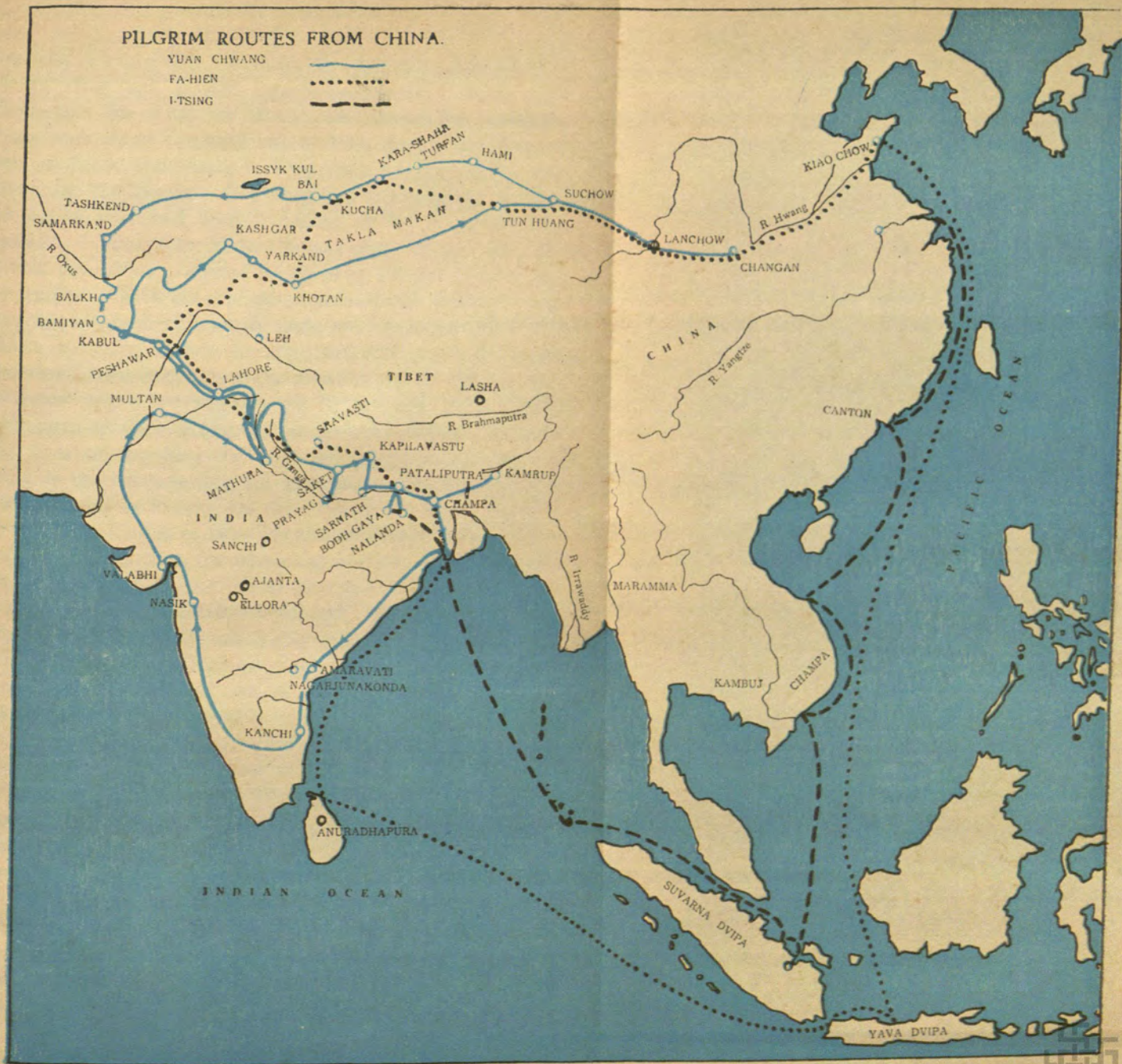
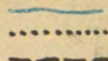


PILGRIM ROUTES FROM CHINA.

YUAN CHWANG

FA-HIEN

I-TSING



master's great ability, and Bhāskaravarman, the king of Assam (Kamrup), invited him to his Court. So he went there, and his notes on Assam are remarkably accurate. Very soon Harṣa Vardhana sent word to Assam, whose king was his friend and vassal, inviting Yuan Chwang to his own camp on the Ganges; they went and were warmly received by Harṣa who had been impatient at the delay in their arrival. In 643 A.D. Yuan Chwang attended the two celebrated assemblies convened by Harṣa at Kanauj and Prayag, of which we have detailed descriptions from Yuan Chwang and his biographers, though these are obviously one-sided. Harṣa, according to these accounts, had difficulty in protecting the Mahāyānist doctor from the debating zeal of the followers of other creeds, particularly the brāhmaṇas; drastic rules calculated to stifle free speech caused resentment and even the lives of the king and the pilgrim were endangered. Such is the account that we have no means of verifying. The assembly at Prayag was the usual quinquennial meeting at which the king gave away his accumulated treasure. This was the last function for which the Master of the Law put off his return to China. Harṣa also failed to dissuade him from returning to his native land, and very unwillingly bade him farewell. After spending two months of the rainy season in the region to the north of Kanauj, Yuan Chwang crossed the Panjab by way of Jālandhar and Takṣaśilā, taking in the opposite direction the route he had taken ten years before. Crossing the Indus, early in 644 A.D., he was met at Udabhaṇḍa (Und) by the kings of Kapiśa, and Kashmir, the former helping him to get from Uḍḍiyāna fresh copies of some of the books which had been lost in crossing the Indus. He lodged in a monastery in Nagarahāra for some time.

Then he crossed the Hindu Kush with great difficulty in July 644 A.D., despite the aid of the king of Kapiśa, and farther on a Turkish prince gave him an escort for the crossing of the Pamirs. His narrative here contains many marvellous tales and dramatic adventures. He duly noted the



Indian origin of the civilization of the Central Asian states; he passed through Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan where he spent seven to eight months from September 644 A.D.; during this period he replaced the manuscripts lost in transit and awaited the permission of the imperial government to return to the country which he had left ten years earlier without a proper permit. His notes on the places he visited show clearly the geographical changes that had occurred since the days of Fa-hien. After resting some time at Tun-huang, he approached Ch'ang-an in the Spring of 645 A.D. and was received with great honour by the officials and monks of the capital. He presented his respects to the Emperor T'ai-tsung at Lo-Yang some days later. Not only was his secret exit from China forgiven, but he soon became the hero of the hour and part of the glory of the T'angs, the Emperor himself congratulating him on having risked his life for the salvation and happiness of all men. He refused to accept the post of Minister offered him by the Emperor, and spent the rest of his life in a monastery, specially built in the capital to lodge him and his band of translators who rendered into Chinese the six hundred Sanskrit works brought from India. The Emperor T'ai-tsung died in July 649 A.D.; his successor was quite friendly, but Yuan Chwang's visits to the palace became less frequent and he devoted himself more and more to translation and active preaching. He knew his end was approaching, and died in peace and content in 664 A.D. with the consciousness of having led a good and purposeful life.

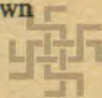
I-tsing

I-tsing was about ten years of age when Yuan Chwang returned to China, but he had prepared himself for the life of a Buddhist monk. He was admitted to the Order when he was fourteen. Though he formed the idea of travelling to India in 652 A.D., he did not carry it out till his thirty-seventh year (671 A.D.). He was away for 25 years (671—695 A.D.) and travelled through more than thirty countries.

After his return to China in 695 A.D., he translated 56 works out of about 400 he had brought back with him, between the years 700 and 712 A.D. He died in 713 A.D. in his seventy-ninth year.

He took the sea route to India both ways. His itineraries lack the variety and scientific interest of those of Yuang Chwang, but they are full of human interest. On his outward voyage (671 A.D.) he spent eight months in Sumatra, six at Śrī-vijaya, a rising maritime state (now Palembang), and two in Malaya in the neighbourhood. He landed at Tāmralipti in 673 A.D., and thence went to Magadha, the holy land *par excellence* and worshipped at Bodh Gaya and other sacred spots. He spent ten years at Nalanda, hearing the teaching of the Doctors of the Law and collecting holy books. He had many companions with him of whom he was to write an account later, and from them he took leave, never to see them again, in 685 A.D. when he left India, again by way of Tāmralipti. He spent four years in Śrī-vijaya with its Sanskrit background in order to translate the sacred works; in 689 A.D. he went to China to fetch collaborators for his work and after another five years at Śrī-vijaya he finally returned to China in 695 A.D. Like Yuan Chwang before him he found the Court interested in his voyages and was given an official reception.

One of I-tsing's works, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, has been translated into English by the Japanese scholar, J. Takakusu. More interesting in some ways are his *Memoirs on the Eminent Monks who went in Search of the Law in the Western Countries*; of this work a French version by Chavannes is available. It gives us a fair idea of the earnestness and devotion of the pilgrims whose numbers were larger than we are apt to imagine and of the spirit with which they braved the dangers of their enterprise. It is, in fact, a melancholy succession of tales, full of pathetic incidents both on land and sea. I-tsing remarks wistfully: "However triumphal, the path was strewn



with difficulties; the Holy Places were far away and vast. Of dozens who brought forth leaves and flowers, and of several who made an attempt, there was scarcely one who bore any fruit or produced any real results, and few who completed their task. The reason for this was the immensity of the stony deserts of the Land of the Elephant (India), the great rivers and the brilliance of the sun which pours forth its burning heat, or else the towering waves heaved up by the giant fish, the abysses, and the waters that rise and swell as high as the heavens. When marching solitary, beyond the Iron Gates between Samarquand and Bactria, one wandered amongst the ten thousand mountains, and fell into the bottom of precipices; when sailing alone beyond the Columns of Copper (South of Tongking), one crossed the thousand deltas and lost one's life. . . . That is how it is that those who set out were over fifty in number, while those who survived were only a handful of men." Several Korean monks had gone to India, the majority across Central Asia, some by the sea route; of them I-tsing says: "They died in India, and never saw their country again." Indeed the Central Asian route was becoming more and more difficult after the weakening of the T'ang empire and the revolt of Tibet, not to speak of the Islamic Arabs who soon appeared on the scene.

On the maritime route the Chinese pilgrims saw India coming out to meet them. The impress of Indian civilization on Indo-China and Indonesia could not escape their notice, and I-tsing recommends that one should stay in Srivijaya and perfect his knowledge of Sanskrit before going on to India. During this period there was a perpetual exchange of ideas, books and art products between India and Ceylon and Java, Cambodia, Campā and the ports of the Canton region of China.

Thus, in this bright period of Asian history, the Chinese pilgrims of the great T'ang dynasty linked the Far East to India more closely by their travels and their translations of the Sacred Books.



CHAPTER XI

A Brief Survey of Buddhist Art

A. IN INDIA

The followers of the Buddha came largely from the commercial classes and their wealth made it possible for the gigantic stūpas and caityas to be built at Sanchi and Bhārhut in central India, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in South India and Karle and Bhaja in western India. The creation of the Orders of Buddhist monks and nuns (bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs) is evidence of the Buddha's altruism (karuṇā). The monks and the nuns, like their Master, adopted an itinerant life and moved from place to place, from caves to rock-cut dwellings. As the Buddhist church grew, the merchants and royal votaries, foremost among whom was Emperor Aśoka, endowed the Buddhist Saṅgha and built caityas, stūpas and monasteries or vihāras. With corporate life came the monastery, and into the monastery were introduced temples and chapels. Thus on the cool and peaceful hills, where Buddhist monks and nuns gathered, arose marvellous Buddhist cave temples as at Karle, Kanheri and Bhaja in Bombay State and Ajanta in the Deccan. Painting and sculpture which evoke the artist's admiration were enlisted to display the glory of the Buddha, and the life of the Master, his past births (the Jātakas) and other edifying legends became their subject matter.

In the three centuries before and after the birth of Christ, India witnessed a phenomenal growth of Buddhist art and culture. A large number of stūpas and caityas built during this period were richly carved with scenes from the life of the Buddha and his previous births. The inspiration of



Buddhist art came from religion and the sculptural wealth of Buddhist edifices goes to prove that religion did not necessarily mean ritual or doctrine, but that latent spiritual quality which finds 'tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything'. In the North-West, owing to the impact of Greece and Rome, a hybrid art developed and a complete Buddhist imagery called Gandhāra was elaborated. Gradually the orthodox Buddhist doctrine underwent a change. Popular beliefs, magic and sorcery, collectively known as tantra, began to spread among the people and through it Buddhism and Hinduism were brought closer. The former was about to be absorbed into Hinduism when the Muslim invaders descended on the scene, swept Buddhism from the Indian soil, destroyed the vihāras, where the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs lived, scattered them and broke their hierarchy.

The Stūpa in Buddhist Art

The highest objects of worship for the Buddhist are the Triratna or the three jewels: (1) the Buddha, (2) the Dharma, and (3) the Saṅgha. There are also other objects of worship which, when compared with the Triratna, can only be described as material or formal, but which appealed more forcibly to the layman than all the precepts, parables and sayings of the Buddha put together. These are the relics of holy persons like the Buddha, the Pratyeka-buddhas, the Arhats, and the Cakravartins, over which great monuments were erected by a 'grateful posterity'. In the majority of cases, these relics are what are called dhātus which can be conveniently grouped into three classes, namely, śārīrika or corporeal relics, uddeśika or memorials and pāribhogika or 'objects' having been of use to the Buddha, sacred spots, holy trees, and the like'.

According to tradition, the oldest corporeal relics are the hairs of the Buddha which were given to the merchants Tapusa and Bhallika, and later deposited by them in a shrine built in their native city in Orissa.

The chief corporeal relics are 'those which are properly

called śarīras, *i.e.*, the remains of a corpse after cremation'. The Buddha died in the land of the Mallaś who did honour to his bones with dancing, music, garlands and perfumes. Ajātaśatru from Rājagṛha, the Licchavis of Vaisali, the Śākyaś of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma and a brāhmaṇa from Veṭṭhadīpa—all claimed their share in the division of the relics.

It appears that after the division had been made, a messenger of the Mauryas of Pippalivana came for a portion of the relics. As there was nothing left, he took pieces of coal which the Mauryas began to revere and placed in a stūpa. Thus, originally there were eight stūpas: in Rājagṛha, Vaisali, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagrāma, Veṭṭhadīpa, Pāvā and Kuśinagara, besides those erected by Brāhmaṇa Droṇa and the Mauryas of Pippalivana.

In addition to these relics, there are others, the tooth relics, one of which is worshipped in heaven, another in Gandhāra, and one each in Kāliṅga and the land of the Nāgas respectively. The Daḷadāvamsa (composed about 310 A.D.) speaks of the history of the eye-tooth (daṃṣṭrā) relic which was taken to Dantapura or Kāliṅga-nagarī, the capital of Kāliṅga.

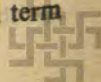
The pāribhoga-dhātus which served the Buddha and the saints are such objects as garments, bowls, sticks, and trees. These were worshipped equally with the bone relics, and like the latter, possessed miraculous powers. It is difficult to determine the period in which these holy remains began to be venerated, but there is no doubt that the practice of worshipping relics was already fully established, both in the North and in the South, long before the beginning of mediaeval times. The Chinese pilgrims speak of having seen the Buddha's staff, kāśāya and saṅghāṭi, in the neighbourhood of Nagara. Referring to his visit to Peshawar, Fa-hien speaks of the alms bowl of the Buddha. The Siṃhalese chronicle, Dīpavaṃsa, speaks of many pāribhoga relics, such as 'the drinking vessel of Buddha Kakusandha, the girdle



of Koṣāgamana, the bathing cloth of Kassapa, and that of Gautama', and records that the latter's girdle was preserved in the Kāyabandhana-Cetiya.

Similarly, Yuan Chwang speaks of the head-dresses of Prince Siddhārtha, associating them with the vihāra at Koṅkaṇapura in South India. We are also indebted to the Chinese pilgrim for his reference, in his account, to certain other relics which were also worshipped. Thus, the Buddha is said to have left his shadow in certain places near Kauśāmbī, Gaya and Nagara, to which the believers go even today to pay homage. The Chinese pilgrim says that he was lucky enough to see the shadow of the Lord at Gaya. We also hear of places where the Buddha is said to have left his foot-prints for the faithful to worship. Sanctuaries of different kinds have risen in all these places and the relics within them are worshipped to this day.

The most general name for a sanctuary is caitya, 'a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images and religious inscriptions. Hence, all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are caityas but not all caityas are edifices'. The earliest surviving architectural relic is the caitya of the Buddhist period, which is not specially Buddhistic but was adopted by the Buddhists from Vedic architectural models. We learn that memorial mounds were erected over the relics of worthy people even in the pre-Buddhist age. The word caitya is derived from the word citā, or funeral pile, and denotes anything connected with a funeral pile, *e.g.*, the tumulus raised over the bones of a dead saint. Although generally speaking caitya means a relic shrine or a temple or any place of worship, technically it means a mound. The term stūpa is analogous to caitya, as it also means a mound, or something which is raised. Later, the term caitya came to mean a shrine, an altar or a temple. For our purposes it is necessary for us to understand caitya as meaning a mound containing a relic, *e.g.*, ashes, bones, hair or a tooth of the Buddha. Caitya is a religious term, while stūpa is an architectural term.



for a relic mound.

The stūpa is often identified with the dagoba, but incorrectly so, since a dagoba is only part of the stūpa. The stūpa is the whole monument, while the dagoba is only the area where the relic is deposited. As most of the stūpas are erected over relics, they may also be called dagobas. Not all stūpas, however, contain relics, since many were built on spots where some memorable event connected either with the life of the Buddha or his Jātakas had taken place. Two stūpas are thus said to have been erected near Banaras where the Buddha preached his first sermon and where 500 Pratyekabuddhas entered nirvāṇa.

The earliest stūpas, such as those found in the Bhārhut and the Sanchi sculptures, show a circular or square base, with or without a railing. Over this base rests a dome which is surmounted by a graduated inverted pyramid. This is connected with the dome by means of a short neck (gala). The whole is surmounted by a chattra or chattras, one above the other, with flags and garlands suspended from them.

The oldest stūpa in brick is the remnant at Piprāwhā, on the Nepal frontier, which probably dates from about 450 B.C. The remains at Piprāwhā show that brick was used for building long before the birth of rock architecture.

The most typical form of the stūpa, which is known to be the earliest Buddhist building, is furnished by the stūpas at Sanchi. It is said of the Great Stūpa that it was originally built in brick by Aśoka and hence dates from the third century B.C. Its stone casings, railings and gateways were added a century later. It is in the shape of a hemispherical dome (aṇḍa) truncated at the top and placed over a lofty terrace. This terrace must have been a procession path for pradakṣiṇā. A railing or balustrade of stone (prākāra), 'which was originally of wood, and was copied later in stone', encloses the dome and the terrace. The dome is surmounted by a pavilion (harmikā) from which rises the shaft (daṇḍa) of the umbrella (chattra), the 'Indian emblem of sovereignty, signifying the reign of Dharma, the religious faith propagated by Aśoka, the



great Buddhist Dharmarāja'. The finial is called the tee which is derived from the Burmese word *hti*.

The stūpa underwent an interesting development in its chattra which, from being one originally, increased in number till it became a cluster of umbrellas, giving an elongated appearance to the later stūpas such as those in China and Nepal, and slowly lengthening out 'in the shape of the Indo-Aryan spire, the stūpa itself inclining to the form of a tower'. These umbrellas which may be two, three, five, seven, nine or thirteen, and the gradations of the pavilion which is placed over the dome, all suggest divisions of the universe. Thus we may safely surmise that a symbolical significance is attached to each part of the stūpa, the stūpa itself representing Mount Meru.

The elongation that the dome gradually underwent can be seen in the caitya of Svayambhūnātha of Nepal and the Thūpārāma dagoba of Anurādhapura in Ceylon (circa 246 B.C.). The earlier evolutions are best illustrated in the forms achieved in the tope at Manikyala (Rawalpindi district), ascribed to about 30 B.C. and the more elaborate example at Ahin Posh in the Jelalabad valley. The important features of the last named stūpa are the storeyed terrace and the staircase at the four quarters, a scheme which might have been carried to Java, as illustrated in the plan of the Borobudur. In Burma, the early Indian model went through so many modifications that it is difficult to recognize its original prototype in them. In the Mingalazedi Pagoda in Pagan, dated 1274 A.D., the platform is in storeyed terraces, and the dome shrinks into a cone, almost merging into the finial which terminates in a spire, the umbrella having already disappeared. The intermediate stage, however, is well illustrated in the carved representations of the stūpa met with on the marble slabs at Amarāvati in South India.

The railings which consist of pillars (stambhas), pierced with cross bars (sūcī) and surmounted by copings (uṣṇīṣa) are also characteristic features of Buddhist architecture. They are a convincing proof that wooden architecture preceded



Svayambhunatha, Nepal



Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts



Mingalazedi Pagoda. Pagan, Burma, 13th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Burma)



stone in the history of Buddhist architecture. From mere imitations in stone of plain wooden balustrades, they developed into the later examples, such as the railing at Bodh Gaya and the elaborately carved marble railings at Amarāvati (2nd century A.D.). The reader who wishes to know the history of the various stūpas to be found in different parts of India, Burma and Ceylon, will find the travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims interesting.

The stūpa is so constructed that its very shape suggests its affinity to the grave-mound; the dome answers to the tumulus, the railing to the fencing or circle of stones, and the top to the stake or column on the grave. While, however, there are some dagobas in Ceylon, of which the domes are bell shaped, the generally approved form of the stūpa is 'that of a water bubble surmounted by three umbrellas, one of the gods, the second of men, the third of final Deliverance or Nothingness'. A study of a different type of stūpa found at Borobudur in Java and at Mingyun in Burma will demonstrate how, in the course of its development, the stūpa acquired the characteristics of a prāsāda or tower with a number of stair-like divisions. An example is the Mahal Prāsāda at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.

Sculpture and Bronze

Sculptures and bronzes in India have not only been regarded as works of art but also as objects of religious veneration. They have now assumed archæological and iconographic importance, although their appeal is also largely aesthetic.

Between the proto-historic art of the Indus Valley and the historical Mauryan period (4th—3rd century B.C.) there exists a big gap which has still to be filled by the actual remains of material culture. In the 3rd century B.C., however, we meet with Indian stone sculpture springing into magnificent forms. The lion capital of Sarnath and the stone bull of Rāmapūrvā are masterpieces of Mauryan sculpture both for their vigour and their expression. Besides the refined



courtly art exemplified by these lion or bull capitals, there also flourished an archaic religious art based on a widespread cult of tutelary deities, such as the yakṣas and the yakṣīs. The majesty of such figures as the Parkham Yakṣa, Patna Yakṣa and the Yakṣī figure from Didarganj (3rd century B.C.) owes more to their size, volume and form, than to their spiritual expression. However, no bronze images have yet been found which are representative of either the courtly art or the archaic religious art of Mauryan times.

Indian art entered a phase of intense activity in the 2nd century B.C., when under the direct influence of Buddhism a synthesis suitable to the Indian genius was effected between the higher and the lower forms of beliefs. This produced very rich sculpture, which is preserved on the railings and gateways of the stūpas of Sanchi (Bhopal) and Bhārhut (central India), Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur district, South India). Some bronze images of the Buddha, dating not earlier than the 2nd century A.D., have also been found in Amarāvati and its neighbourhood. From the 2nd century A.D. onwards the image of the Buddha was sufficiently popular for artists to carve or cast it as a matter of course, with the result that we have today an extensive sculpture sequence of the Buddha image.

Though the art of metal casting is of great antiquity, as shown by the first example of the dancing girl from Mohenjodaro of the third millennium B.C., we do not come across any metal images until the 1st century A.D., when small figures appear in Takṣaśilā in the North and Amarāvati in the South.

A vital and prolific school of Indian sculpture sprang up at Mathura in the 1st century A.D., remarkable both for its statuary which is illustrative of sectarian belief and for its beautiful figure sculpture, of which the best examples are feminine forms carved on the railing pillars with birds, flora, fauna and flowing streams.

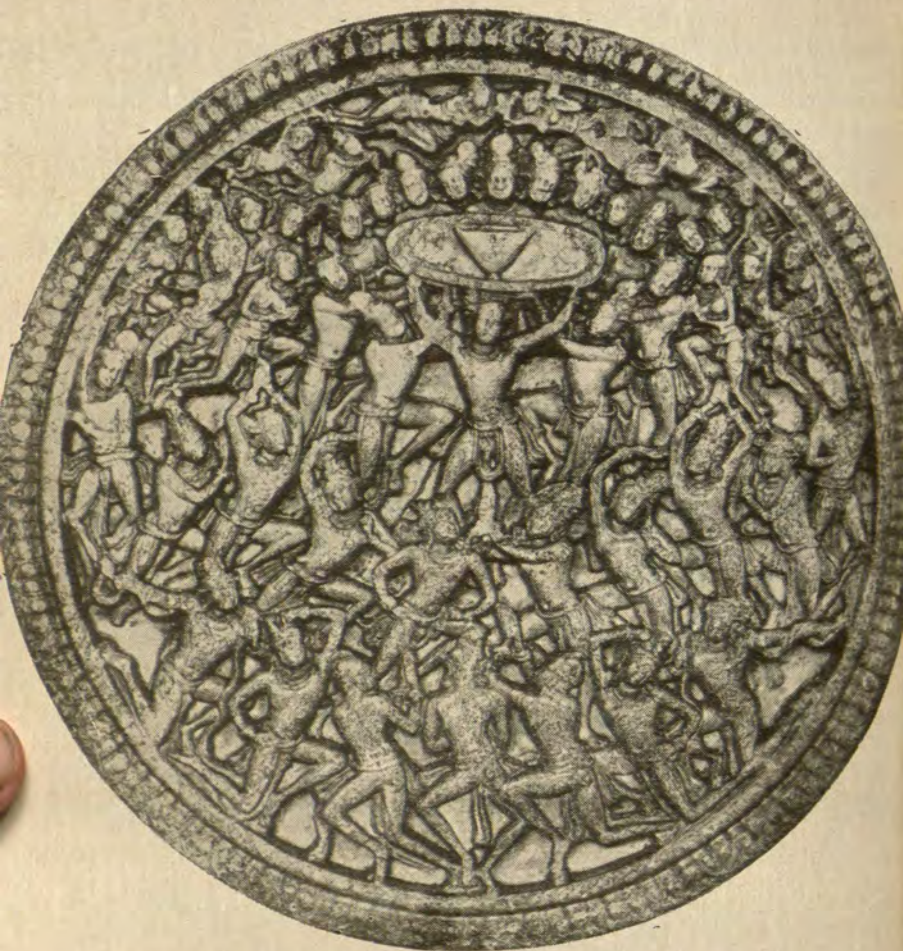
The school of Mathura found its fulfilment in the Gupta age (4th—5th century A.D.) which ushered in the golden age





The Nativity and Seven Steps. Limestone, Nagarjunakonda, 3rd century A.D.
(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)





Adoration of the Buddha's Alms Bowl. Limestone, Amaravati, 2nd century A.D.
(Courtesy, Madras Government Museum, Madras)



of Indian art. The sensuous freedom and plasticity of the Mathura figures were now replaced by restraint, elegance of form and spiritual expression. The great Buddha figures of Mathura, Sarnath, Ajanta, and Bihar are immortal specimens which symbolize the ideals of a whole age. The faces are radiant with spiritual ecstasy and the smiling countenance with downcast eyes adequately conveys the divine, compassionate love (*karuṇā*) of the Buddha for all beings. It is to the Guptas that we owe the perfect visual image of the Buddha type of being, which has rightly been considered the greatest creation of Indian art.

Bronzes of the Gupta period rank with the best stone sculpture such as the life-size Buddha from Sultanganj in Bihar (5th century A.D.), which is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery, and the beautiful Brahmā image from the Mīrpur-khās stūpa in Sindh. Metal images became increasingly popular from about the 8th century A.D.

Elegance of form and richness of spiritual expression characterize the bronzes of the Pāla period (9th—12th century A.D.) from Nalanda and Kurkihār, both in Bihar. The development of the Pāla school, the eastern school of Tārānātha, is best seen at Nalanda, the importance of which as a centre of Buddhist learning continued undiminished, in spite of the political decadence of Magadha, until the monasteries were destroyed by the Muslims about 1197 A.D. Nalanda has been the richest source of the well-known, smooth images in black slate and has also yielded an extensive series of Buddhist bronzes. The importance of Nalanda as a centre of Buddhist culture and as a source of iconographic and stylistic influences throughout the East, is well illustrated by the close relations that existed between Nalanda and Sumatra and Java in the 9th century, as shown by the copper plate of Devapāla-deva in which references are made to the important monastery at Nalanda built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇa-dvīpa (circa 860 A.D.). Nepal and Burma, too, were closely connected with Nalanda. Eastern India, comprising Bihar and Bengal, which can be treated as one province from



the point of view of the development of art, under Pāla and Sena rule, and Mayurbhanj followed the classical traditions evolved in the Gupta period.

Another large series of remarkable metal images from Kurkihār in the district of Gaya in Bihar shows a close affinity to those at Nalanda and belong almost to the same period and school. Yet another large series of Buddhist metal images, perhaps of Nalanda origin, has been found at Chittagong in East Bengal, and appears to date from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. Some others, found in Kashmir, are evidently of the same type.

A great and prolific school of sculpture existed in eastern India during the Pāla period (9th—12th century A.D.). All finds of metal images that belong to this period, whether they are Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jain, and whether they are made at Kurkihār or Nalanda in Bihar, or at Rangpur, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Dacca, or the Sundarbans in Bengal, are examples of Pāla art. The modelling of the Pāla bronzes is good, although it is not their most remarkable feature as it is in those of the Gupta period. The lines and soft curves of the figures are pleasing, and their expression has an appeal which justifies the modern enthusiasm for the Pāla bronzes. The Buddhist images found at Jhewari in Chittagong (9th—13th century A.D.), on the other hand, are marked by ruggedness and constraint. These may be called provincial variations of the Pāla school, although they probably have affinities with the school that flourished in Burma and Assam in this period. Small metal images, particularly those of Buddhist divinities found at Nalanda and Kurkihār, have provided the inspiration for the Nepalese copper gilt images. Some of these Buddhist and Hindu metal images, however, must have been brought by Javanese pilgrims who came to visit the sacred shrines of eastern India.

Although they are rare, Buddhist bronzes are occasionally found in South India, mostly in the Tanjore district, and date from the 10th to the 15th century A.D. Since 1856, about 350 Buddhist bronzes of the Mahāyāna, some of which are

Padmapani. Gilt-Bronze. Kurkihar, c. 12th century A.D. (Photo by Publications Division)





The Buddha. Bronze, Dong Duong in Campa, 3rd century A.D.
(Courtesy. Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient. Hanoi)

inscribed, were recovered from the sites of the vihāras raised in Nāgapaṭṭinam by the Śailendras of Sumatra during the time of the Coḷa kings, Rājarāja I and Rājendra Coḷa I. Some of these bronzes belong to the early Coḷa period (871—1070 A.D.) and a large number of the rest to the later Coḷa period (1070—1250 A.D.).

The Amarāvati, Nalanda and Nāgapaṭṭinam Buddhist sculptures and bronzes bring us to a most interesting study, namely, to that of the culture of South-East Asia, and of the extent to which Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Indo-China derived their arts from India.

It is known that Aśoka (250 B.C.) sent Buddhist missionaries to South-East Asia. Two of them, Soṇa and Uttara, went to the 'Land of Gold', which is the western part of Indonesia. In the second and third centuries A.D., Amarāvati in Andhra-deśa was a great centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism, and the influence of the Amarāvati school of art was felt in Ceylon, in lower and Central Siam (Thailand) and possibly in Sumatra. Burma and Siam are still Buddhist in faith, though they have witnessed repeated invasions through the centuries, involving them in much bloodshed and anarchy. The Indian colonies were bound to the motherland by the silken ties of art, culture and religion. In the 5th century A.D., the Golden Age in northern India under the famous Guptas and in South India under the glorious Pallavas left its mark on the colonies¹ and their culture.

The last trend of Indian art to influence colonial art is found in the 11th century products of the Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal. Under the spell of Pāla art and faith, the early Burmese kings of Pagan became intimately connected with Bodh Gaya and Nalanda which led to the introduction of a new image of the Buddha of the Sthaviravāda school. This form of the Buddha image gradually found its way from Burma into North Siam where it became the forerunner of the Siamese school of art. An account of how the

1. The term colonies is used here in the sense of outgrowths of Indian culture.



Siamese national school was later influenced by a new form of the Buddha image from Ceylon and from South India covers eight different periods of Thailand's interesting history.

The spread of Indian scripts, languages, literatures and faiths, and especially Buddhism, to South-East Asia is a most fascinating story. The Buddhist images of South-East Asia illustrate artistic contacts between India and Greater India and help to show that Indian art in South-East Asia is a continuation and development of the Indian creative genius under colonial conditions. Indeed, the arts of Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, Siam and Burma, recover for us one of the lost pages in the history of Indian art.

Painting

There are innumerable references to painted decorations in the Jātakas and other Buddhist literature. The earliest surviving examples of Buddhist paintings dating from the 2nd century B.C., are found in some of the caitya halls at Ajanta in the Deccan. A principal wall painting of the period is in cave No. 9 which is devoted to the illustration of Śaḍdanta Jātaka. However, Buddhist painting seems to have attained its maturity only during the Gupta period (5th—6th century A.D.). The finest specimens of this period are to be found in the caves at Bāgh (central India) and Ajanta. The mural paintings in the Ajanta caves contain representations of scenes from the Buddha's life, from the conception to the attainment of nirvāṇa, as well as from the Jātaka stories, such as the Śaḍdanta, Viśvantara, Kṣāntivādin, and several others. These stories are represented in continuous narrative. The human and animal figures display vigour, adding grace and vitality to the style which reveals great delicacy and depth of feeling. A quiet dignity, poise and detachment are the hall-marks of classical Buddhist paintings in India.

A few Buddhist paintings, as already noted, are found on the walls of cave No. 4 at Bāgh. Though they are Buddhist in theme and allied to Ajanta in style, they are basically secu-



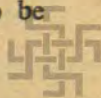
lar in character, and significantly reflect contemporary life.

The mediaeval period in eastern and western India was a period of intense activity in manuscript writing. As the authors of manuscripts wanted to embellish their books with illustrations, the use of miniature painting came into vogue. The miniature paintings of eastern India of the Pāla period deal mostly with Buddhist gods and goddesses and the art, though simple in composition, is characterized by sinuous lines and subdued tones. Some of the best examples of miniature paintings are to be found in the *Prajñāpāramitā* and other Buddhist texts of the 12th to the 14th century A.D.

B. IN OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES

The influence of Buddhist art has probably no parallel in Asia. When it is remembered that the earliest historical remains in India are generally Buddhist, the continuous development of Buddhist art in and outside India forms a fascinating story. Successive dynasties of kings while patronizing art brought into being great monuments worthy of not only the highest veneration by devotees, but of admiration of art connoisseurs from all parts of the world.

If the study of Indian art of the historical period begins, to all intents and purposes, with the very few, but most valuable specimens of the sculptor's art of the Mauryan period, the Aśokan pillar capitals crowned by animals show a vigour which strangely combines indigenous traditions with imported influences. It is known from the inscriptions of Aśoka that he had wide contacts with foreign powers and it is no wonder that such influences from Persia are seen in these pillar capitals. There are several terracottas of the early centuries of the Christian era from Mathura, which was a great centre of Buddhism, showing peculiar caps in terracotta figurines. During the time of the Satraps of Mathura, the fusion of foreign with indigenous traditions continued and in the Kuṣāṇa period we have several examples of these interesting features in stone and clay. If the Kuṣāṇa sculptures in some cases show strong Gandhāra influence, it is to be



accounted for by the fact that the large empire of the Kuṣāṇas included the north-western frontier also. If the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of the 2nd century A.D. with such charming carvings as the Bhutesar yakṣīs and other similar carvings is closely allied to similar sculptures from the Kṛṣṇā valley in Amaravātī and elsewhere, where the traditions of fusion with foreign elements also existed, it is because both the schools grew out of an earlier common source in the Mauryan period and were continued in the North and South by the Śuṅgas and the Śātavāhanas respectively, of whom the former were succeeded by the Kuṣāṇas in the North.

It is startling indeed to discover that the exquisite ivory carvings from Begram¹ so closely resemble the Kuṣāṇa sculpture from Mathura of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; but this is easily understood when it is remembered that they are from the western end of the Kuṣāṇa empire and are reminiscent of sculpture found along the eastern and western borders of the Śātavāhana empire. The toraṇa gateways, the toilet scenes, the mithunas, the makaras, the lotus motifs and the long undulating creeper motif of the kalpavallī type are all favourite themes equally in the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathura.

It is the same toilet box here as at Sanchi. The type of mirror held by the damsel decorating herself and arranging her coiffure is the same as in Mathura or even Amarāvati. Indeed, one of the medallions depicting the toilet scene of Māyādevī as Śuddhodana visits her, from one of the cross-bars of the Amarāvati rail, cannot but flash across the mind of anyone examining these ivories.

The motif of two maidens closely held together under an arched gateway, which is of frequent occurrence in these ivories, is strongly suggestive of a similar pair of maidens in Kuṣāṇa workmanship from Mathura.

The drunken lady almost sinking to the ground and supported as she is raised, a motif that is a favourite one in

1. In Afghanistan. An excellent comparative study on this aspect has been made by Mlle. Jeanine Auboyer in 'La vie privée dans l'Inde ancienne d'après les ivoires de Begram', in *Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques à Begram*.



Mathura sculpture, has its prototype in Begram also.

The slipping on of the *mañjīrā* on the foot of the lady in Begram is not only frequently met with in Kuṣāṇa sculpture from Mathura and in Śātavāhana sculpture from the Amarāvati rail, but continues even later as a pleasing motif in Gupta art. One has only to recall in this connection the *vāmanikā* busy adjusting the *mañjīrā* of the queen; one of the gems of Cakravartī Mādhātā from an Amarāvati sculpture now preserved in the British Museum. The *prasādhikā* adjusting the anklet at Begram is an equally interesting *vāmanikā* with whose performance her mistress is highly pleased as seen from her beaming face.

The adjusting of the necklace in an artistic fashion as depicted in a Mathura sculpture from Saṅkāśya, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is bound to strike one examining a similar ivory carving from Begram. The *mañjīrās* are presented to the lady who sits on a low circular seat waiting to be decorated, as is the case in sculpture elsewhere in India, for instance, at Amarāvati, where the *prasādhikā* kneels at her feet, and offers her the anklets on a tray.

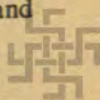
The adjusting of the ear ornament (*kuṇḍala*), as it is shown at Begram, calls attention to the *padmarāga* type of ear-ring at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The woman wringing the water from her long, flowing tresses after her bath while a swan hastens to swallow the drops of water mistaking them for pearls is as pleasing a motif here as in Mathura.

The beautiful description of the lady riding a richly caparisoned horse, as given in the *Harṣacarita* by Bāṇa, is probably most effectively depicted in sculpture at Begram.

The dancing scenes from Begram have their counterparts at Mathura and Amarāvati and the harp-shaped *viṇā*, the flute, the *karatala* and the *mṛdaṅga* are easily recognized.

The lady carrying food and water, the former on a plate with a conical lid, is found both at Amarāvati and Mathura. It occurs again and in the same manner at Begram also and

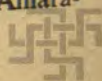


the common heritage is unmistakable.

Another phase of this art in Gandhāra shows the powerful influence of Greco-Roman traditions on this area where some of the finest figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were created. In fact, the earliest images of the Buddha in human form, which were contemporary with, if not earlier than, the earliest similar representations of the indigenous schools at Mathura and at Amarāvati, are the Gandhāra images of the Buddha. The Master is here conceived in Greek pattern—almost Apollonian in physical beauty—and even the garments that adorn him are arranged with folds characteristic of Greco-Roman sculpture. Even for the Bodhisattvas everything except the jewellery is well-nigh Greek in conception and execution. In these Gandhāra figures a notable feature is the presentation of the physical form with its great emphasis on anatomy. The sculptor does not round off the contours, but takes great pains to indicate the modelling of the human form in such a way as to suggest the strength of physical perfection through the disposition of the muscles. In indigenous sculpture, on the other hand, the angularities are not shown and the contours are rounded to suggest something spiritual, avoiding the element of flesh. Some of the masterpieces of Gandhāra sculpture demonstrate the great care and study the sculptor bestowed on depicting the physical form.

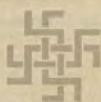
The Buddha as an ascetic, almost skin and bone with the veins standing out, could never have been conceived by a sculptor of the indigenous school, and is depicted only in Gandhāra sculpture. The most perfect representation of the emaciated Buddha is preserved in the Lahore Museum. The sunken eyes, the skeletal features, and the protruding veins of this figure of the Master make it indeed a rare specimen of Gandhāra art.

The representations of Siddhārtha's birth in indigenous sculpture all over the country never portray the child in human form, whereas in Gandhāra sculpture the child is shown as issuing from his mother's side. Even at Amarā-





Toilet Scene. Ivory, Begram, 1st-2nd century A.D. (Courtesy, Musée Guimet, Paris)





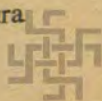
Colossal Buddha. Bamiyan, 4th-5th century A.D. (Through E.A.M.)



vati and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where the physical form of the Buddha came into vogue by the second century of the Christian era, the child's birth is indicated by footsteps on the silken garment held by Indra and it is only in Gandhāra sculpture that the human form of the new-born babe is represented.

The presence of Vajrapāṇi as a body-guard of the Buddha is another feature that is found in Gandhāra sculpture depicting scenes from the Buddha's life. Vajrapāṇi is conceived here almost like Hercules with a very rough bone shaped thunderbolt in his hand. The milder Vajrapāṇi in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture may well have been derived from this type. However, in the former case both the figure of Vajrapāṇi and the form of the vajra undergo a transformation. The thunderbolt becomes three-pronged on either side and the wielder of this weapon becomes an attractive deva very different from the bearded and semi-naked muscular figure in Gandhāra sculpture.

Even in the representation of individual scenes of the Buddha's life in which Gandhāra art abounds, there are several special features which are noteworthy. The scene of the Buddha attending school and his scholastic life are a great favourite of this school of sculpture and the prince is generally represented as travelling in a chariot drawn by rams. Takṣaśilā being a great seat of learning, the sculptor never missed an opportunity of representing the prince slate in hand, busy learning the alphabet. The scene of the great departure in Gandhāra sculpture is always accompanied by the preceding scene of the prince taking a last look at his faithful wife and his new-born child. The sending of the assassins by Devadatta is another common scene in which the Gandhāra sculptor takes great pains to show the ruffians as specimens of great muscular strength. Probably, the best representation of the Buddha in Gandhāra sculpture is the one from Hoti-Mardan. It must be noted that in Gandhāra sculpture the halo of the Buddha is of the simplest without any border decoration as in the Mathura



Kuṣāṇa figures where the scalloped edge is a typical feature.

The reliquary from Shahji-ki-dheri from the stūpa near Peshawar excavated by Spooner is important as it bears an inscription with the name of Kaniṣka and of Agisāla, the Greek craftsman who made it. It is a valuable treasure of the Peshawar Museum. It is noteworthy that here the row of geese with their necks bent and beaks thrust forward is very similar to the one on the Aśokan lion capital from Rāmapūrvā, except for the fact that their wings are extended. Below this frieze the reliquary is decorated with a garland roll carried by playful juvenile cupids. The Buddha is seated on the lid of the casket with two attendant figures on either side.

In Bamiyan in Afghanistan there are colossal figures of the Buddha modelled on an earlier Gandhāra type, belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. These colossal images, one of them 175 feet high and another about 120 feet, evoked the admiration of Yuan Chwang who saw them on his way. These figures are carved out of a sandstone cliff in the region in niches, like the monasteries and temples that honeycomb the area for over a mile. The creation of these is undoubtedly one of the boldest strokes of the later Gandhāra sculptor. Clearly, in producing such colossuses the object is to emphasize the mahāpuruṣa aspect of the great Master, who, according to legend, could fill the largest throne as he did when he went to heaven. He was represented as a towering figure of gigantic height to dominate and arrest attention. It is this concept that accounts for the gigantic images found elsewhere, for instance, in Ceylon and Thailand and Chandi Mendut in Java. It may be recalled that the great parinirvāṇa figure of the Buddha at Ajanta of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period is also colossal.

The Gandhāra stūpa is interesting as a phase of development from the earlier simpler stūpa with emphasis on the square base, the circular drum, and the large and conical finial over the harmikā, and a similar development will be observed in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand also.





Bodhisattva. Terra-cotta, Fandukistan, c. 7th century A.D.
(Courtesy, Musée Guimet, Paris)



Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts



Thuparama Dagoba. Anuradhapura, Ceylon (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Ceylon)



The lantern roof of the sanctuaries at Bamiyan is particularly noteworthy. The laying of beams diagonally across the corners of a square in successive tiers of diminishing dimensions is especially associated with this area from where it must have spread to both western Asia and Turkestan.

From Hadda¹ come some of the finest figures in stucco which probably go back to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. They are remarkably well made and are full of life and animation. There is a rare strength and vitality in these stucco figures. The element of portraiture is very strong and it may be said to have reached perfection in this area.

From Fondukistan² are derived some of those exquisitely worked and extraordinarily beautiful figures of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, the former wearing flowing garments on their youthful bodies which are so modelled as to suggest softness to the touch. The figures are animated and have the rare grace that one comes across in Gupta works of about the same period in Indian art. The bejewelled Buddha from Fondukistan represents a compromise between the emperor and the monk, for it must not be forgotten that the astrologers had predicted two possibilities for the child of Śuddhodana—either that of a universal emperor or that of a universal Master after enlightenment. This almost incongruous combination of a monk's garb with royal decoration in a variety of rich jewellery was probably a special feature of Fondukistan as of the mediaeval sculpture of the eastern Indian school under the Pālas. In this connection, it should be remembered that the crowned Buddha commonly met with in Pāla sculpture was a replica of this earlier Fondukistan variety; but while here the curls of the Buddha are still the same as in normal figures with ear ornaments, necklets and other jewels, the crowned Buddha of Pāla sculpture has a regular crown on his head in addition.

The classical Indian element can still be found at Bamiyan and in Chinese Turkestan where the paintings

1. In Afghanistan.

2. Also in Afghanistan.



show great affinity with those at Ajanta and Bāgh. The painting of damsels from the large Buddha niche from Bamiyan, which is comparable to a similar figure from the Treasure Cave in Kizil in Turkestan, is a case in point. The lady in the lotus tank from Dandan Uiliq is yet another example of a figure of classical Indian grace found in Central Asia. It recalls a verse of Kālidāsa describing a summer scene when the lotus stalks in the pond rise out of the water as it recedes from the steps of the pond, so that the damsel stands only up to her hip in water as she steps in for her bath: *uddaṇḍapadmaṃ grhadirghikāṇāṃ nārīnitambadvayasaṃ babhūva*¹.

Hārīti has been given an honoured place in Buddhist sculpture. She is a great favourite as she comes closest to the highest of the mātṛkā concept—the mother bestowing the purest maternal affection on her children. The figure of Hārīti with that of Pāñcika is probably as much a favourite in Gandhāra sculpture as is Hārīti by herself in Chinese Turkestan and in Java. A fine sculpture, remarkably akin to similar Indian representations, is a modern Japanese image of Hārīti in the collection of Mr. Henry H. Getty. She has her place in Chinese sculpture also and is shown with a child in her lap as in the Japanese figure. A wall painting from Domoko in Chinese Turkestan, and now in the British Museum, like another painting from Turfan, at present in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, shows this mother with children playing around her as in the case of the standing Hārīti from Gandhāra in the Lahore Museum.

Among the paintings from Chinese Turkestan, there is one from Kizil in the Kucha area in which a remarkable scene from the Buddha's life is presented. India, where the story of Ajātaśatru has been represented in a few scenes at Bhārhut and Amarāvati, has unfortunately no such scene. This remarkable painting depicts king Ajātaśatru as the story of the passing of the Buddha is narrated to him. It was feared that the disclosure of the news would so shock the

1. Raghuvamśa, XVI, 46.

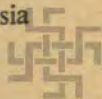


king that it would at once cause his death. His wise minister, Varṣakāra, caused the principal scenes from the Buddha's life to be presented on a canvas in order to be shown to the king so that he could understand the final death or the nirvāṇa of the Buddha by a narration beginning with his birth, his enlightenment, his first sermon and concluding with his death. In this remarkable painting there is a fine admixture of Indian, Persian and Chinese elements, though the central painting, the scroll shown to Ajātaśatru, is almost completely Indian in feeling.

The influence of Buddhist art from India can also be traced in the figures of the Buddhas in the Thousand Caves of the Buddhas at Tun-huang in China. The wall paintings in these caves are akin to those at Bamiyan and may be said to be related to those at Ajanta. The so-called lantern-roof at Bamiyan is also found in Tun-huang. Rock carvings at Yun Kang clearly show Indian origin. Some of the figures are draped in the Indian *dhōti* style which suggests that the artists themselves were probably Indian. In Shansi-Hope Province (to the west of Peking), twenty-one big caves have been discovered. They are supposed to be the oldest Buddhist monuments in China. Their sculptures are in the style of Bamiyan, Gandhāra and Ajanta and the human figures are Indian. So also are the newly discovered grottos on Maichi mountain (Kansu Province), where figures are seen in Indian drapery (*dhōti uttarāsanga*) with crowns on their heads.

The Chinese Buddhist Association recently published (Nationalities Publishing House, Peking, 1955) a number of colour plates illustrating Buddhist scenes and monuments in China and Tibet. They show Buddhist sculptures from the 4th century onwards in the grottos of Yun-kang, Maichishan and of Pingling temple as well as in the caves at Tun-huang. These art monuments show the influence of the Gandhāra school as well of the pure Indian style of the Gupta period.

The characteristics of the art of painting in Central Asia

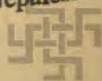


and China provided a prototype for the Buddhist paintings of the T'ang period in China and for the paintings at Horyuji in Japan. The paintings on the walls of the Horyuji Monastery (8th century A.D.) clearly recall Indian influence which may perhaps have come through China.

Like the Hārīti figures which abound wherever Buddhism spread, sculptures and paintings representing the guardians of the quarters are to be found in all areas which came under the influence of Buddhism. One tier in the great stūpa at Borobudur is entirely devoted to the guardians of the quarters such as Virūpākṣa, Viruḍhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Kubera, and there are similar representations in Tibet and China and even in far-off Japan. From Nara comes the image of Komoku-ten, the guardian of the west and a counterpart of Virūpākṣa. This Nāgarāja is shown standing on a crouching dwarf yakṣa very similar to other early yakṣa figures, particularly the Kupīra yakṣa from Bhārhut. The persistence of this iconographic motif of a normally proportioned yakṣa standing on a dwarfed one, a feature also found in similar representations in early sculpture in India from Bhārhut and elsewhere, even in representations from other faiths, for instance, Śiva on the Guḍimallam liṅga in South India, points to a very ancient and popular yakṣa cult.

Of the two oldest stūpas from Nepal, the Śambhunāth and the Bodhināth, the latter presents a typically Nepalese form. It is a tumulus over a square base with the box-like harmikā on top, surmounted by the conical finial which is so characteristic of stūpas from other parts of South-East Asia, including Ceylon and Burma. But here the noteworthy feature is that the Buddha is conceived of as all-seeing; hence the pairs of colossal eyes looking in all the four directions. This concept is to be traced to the idea of caturamukha in the case of Śiva and other deities. Even the colossal faces looking in the four directions at Bayon at Angkor Thom are probably meant to reflect the omnipresence which is indicated by Brahmā's four faces.

The Tibetan stūpa is not very different from the Nepalese



one, but the most famous chorten or stūpa from Gyan-Tse with its unusual plan and elevation reminds one of the Borobudur stūpa in Java.

The art of Nepal and Tibet is largely derived from Pāla art, just as Buddhism itself was introduced in this area from Nalanda. The Buddhist pantheon comprises many gods and goddesses—the Dhyānī Buddhas, the Mānuṣī Buddhas, the Bhaiṣajya Buddhas or medicinal Buddhas, Maitreya, the future Buddha, the Bodhisattvas or potential Buddhas, Tārās, Mārīci, the Lokapālas, Jambhālas and several other gods and goddesses. The monasteries in Tibet contain stucco figures, wood carvings and taṅka paintings illustrating belief in transmigration, magic circles and astrological diagrams as also gods and goddesses of the pantheon. There are several portraits from Tibet illustrating great masters like Padmasambhava, Ācārya Atiśa and others who were responsible for the propagation of the faith in that country.

Some of the most marvellous monuments in the Buddhist world belong to Ceylon, and her sculpture is closely associated with the early art of the Krishna valley and the later Pallava and Coḷa kings owing to the close relations that existed between South India and Ceylon. The lovely standing figure of a prince near Ruanweli stūpa, believed to represent king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and dating from the 2nd century A.D., is equal to any of the best sculptural representations from Amarāvati of the rail period. A standing Buddha from the same place and of the same date is an exact replica of similar figures from Amarāvati and allied sites. When it is remembered that Amarāvati was a great centre of Buddhist sculpture and metalwork and that several bronzes of the Amarāvati school have been found in the Malayan Peninsula and beyond—the figures from Dong Duong in Indo-China and from Sempaga in the Celebes being very famous examples of the Andhra metal images in distant places in South-East Asia—this feature becomes easily intelligible.

Probably the most remarkable image of the Buddha of



a very early date is the seated one in meditation from Anurādhapura.

The Nāgarāja as dvāra-pāla at Anurādhapura with a pūrṇa-kalaśa in his hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the other in early Pallava style still has the grace of an Amarāvati work. This is an indication of the gradual substitution of the former by the motif of the river goddess as guardian of the gateway, which starting at Amarāvati continues in a modified form in the representation of the lady with a creeper on a makara. This motif is a common feature of doorways in South Indian temples. With the makara and the lotus as motifs for decoration the sculptor of Ceylon has achieved very pleasing effects as in some of the South Indian Pallava and Coḷa temples.

The elephant as the supporter of the universe, which is found so often in caryatid form in the rathas at Mahābalipuram and the colossal rock-cut temple at Ellora, has a still earlier representation in a dedicatory stūpa from Anurādhapura which goes back to the pre-Christian era.

The moonstone doorstep, irihanda gala, with a pleasing pattern of lotus petals as in a halo encircled by a border composed of rows of geese and animals in successive bands separated by intervening floral designs, at once recalls similar moonstones from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

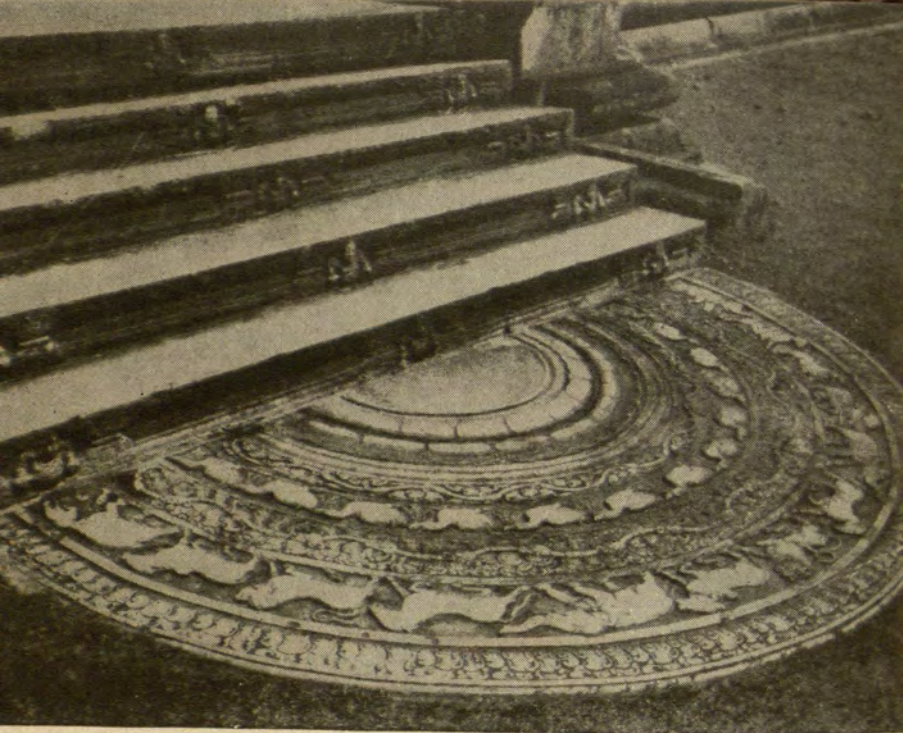
The strong influence of the ṛṣi cult and the veneration for sages, particularly Agastya in South India, has had a special sculptural efflorescence not only in the extreme south of Peninsular India, but also in Ceylon and Java. If Bhaṭāra-guru of Java is so important and the Agastya figure occurs in the ship carved in the Borobudur monuments, the features of the saint are equally prominent in the carving presenting Parākramabāhu at Polonnaruva.

Of the later figures of the 11th and 12th century A.D. in Ceylon, the colossal one from Polonnaruva of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, lying in great calm, with his beloved Ananda standing beside him with his hands crossed in devotion and veneration, is probably one of the greatest



Apsaras. Sigiriya, Ceylon, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Ceylon)





Moonstone at Queen's Pavilion, Anuradhapura, Ceylon



masterpieces of Buddhist art from Ceylon.

The metal image of the Buddha from Badulla, now preserved in the Colombo Museum, is modelled after the Amarāvātī bronzes while the later images follow the Pallava and Coḷa traditions.

The paintings from Sigiriya are probably more intimately connected with the Pallava paintings from Sittanavasal, Panamalai and Kāñcīpuram than any other.

The stūpa in Ceylon is a circular drum on a square base with a long succession of compressed umbrellas forming a conical top over a box-shaped harmikā, of which the Thūpārāma Dagoba at Anurādhapura is a fine example. At Polonnaruva several late Pallava and early Coḷa features are easily discerned in the guardian figures, the balustrades with makara motifs and a frieze of lions. A remarkable maṇḍapa from Polonnaruva is composed of pillars shaped like stout lotus stalks of which nothing now remains except the free standing pillars. The Sātmahal-pāsāda is a seven-storeyed pavilion which recalls similar pavilions, for instance, the Baksei Chamkrōṅ from Angkor.

In Burma, the earliest stūpas are simpler and nearer to their Indian prototypes¹. The Ngakye Nadaun stūpa of the 10th century A.D. from Pagan is almost similar to the Dhamekh stūpa at Sarnath. The Mahābodhi temple at the same place, which belongs to the 13th century A.D., at once recalls the Mahābodhi temple at Gaya. Other stūpas of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. from Pagan rise in tiers on a square base and are somewhat more complex than the most modern Shwe-dagon at Rangoon which is more like a top with its head cut flat and placed upside down. In the Ānanda temple at Pagan, which belongs to the late 11th century, the whole story of the Buddha is narrated in interesting panels in which the influence of the Pāla as well

1. The stūpa of Kuang Hmudaw near the Sagain Hills in Upper Burma comes closest to the stūpa of Sanchi in India. A stūpa of a similar shape but with a flame-like projection on the top is also found in the precincts of Vat Visun in Luang-prabang (Laos).



as Kalinga workman is obvious. Several important incidents like the carrying of Māyā to lake Anotatta for her bath by the queens of the guardians of the quarters, are presented graphically. Such representations are rare even in India and occur only once at Amarāvati. The visit of sage Asita is as great a favourite in the Burmese narration of the Buddha's story as at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The birth scene, particularly in this series, recalls strongly a combination of Coḷa and Pāla workmanship, which is not impossible as it was at this time that Rājendra Coḷa's fleet was active in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean.

The series of Jātaka scenes with inscribed descriptive labels found in the eastern Petleik Pagoda at Pagan constitute an invaluable collection of pictorial representations of the Jātakas in the 11th century A.D. The script recording these Jātakas is based on the Veṅgi type from the Krishna valley and the figures are modified forms of the Indian. In the Canda-kinnara Jātaka the kinnara pair recalls a similar kinnara representation at Borobudur. The Valāhassa Jātaka recalls the representation from Mathura of the Kuṣāṇa period. The portraying of scenes from the Jātakas has been such a living art that in the modern Pathodawgyi Pagoda at Amarapura, built in 1820 A.D., the pictorial representations are as lively as ever, especially that of the Kakkāṭa Jātaka which recalls similar representations at Bhārhut two thousand years earlier. The Kakkāṭa Jātaka occurs in a similar fashion even in the Petleik Pagoda, nine centuries earlier. The scene of the Māndhātu Jātaka shows the fallen king passing away in his park on a couch and explaining to his people the emptiness of worldly wishes and desires. There is a similar representation at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The incident of Nāga Mucalinda protecting the Buddha from a great storm for seven days and nights after his enlightenment, a great favourite in the Krishna valley, is probably nowhere so prominent as in Siam. The Khmer sculptor takes the utmost delight in representing the Buddha



The Buddha's Descent. Siam, after Salmony





The King's Dream. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.



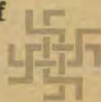
The Sacrifice. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.



The King listening to the Bodhisattva. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.

seated on the Nāga with the hoods held over his head. Even in the earliest Amarāvati sculpture where the footprints of the Buddha represent the Master, the Nāga Mucalinda is shown coiled round the footprints with his hoods over his own form, represented in anthropomorphic fashion in addition to the zoomorphic, in an attitude of devotion with the hands brought together in añjali. This incident is presented as effectively centuries later in the art of Cambodia and Siam where the human figure of the Master is seated with that enigmatic smile characteristic of the wide-mouthed Khmer figures on the coils of the snake.

Another important incident from the Buddha's life, which has its earliest representation at Bhārhut and which is also a great favourite in Gupta and mediaeval sculpture, is the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastrimśa heaven after he had preached the Law to his mother. This is depicted in a variety of forms in Siam and is not known to have occurred elsewhere in isolation. It is a suggestive mode of representing the Buddha's descent from heaven at Saṅkāśya. In Bhārhut, where the physical form of the Buddha is absent, this descent is depicted by a triple ladder and the feet of the Buddha, one at the top and the other at the bottom. In Gupta sculpture the Buddha flanked by Brahmā and Indra, the one holding a parasol and the other a *chauri*, is shown with the steps of the ladder at his feet and below him. In later mediaeval sculpture the ladder is very often omitted by the sculptor altogether. The special feature of this scene from Siam is that the sculptor has chosen to represent suggestively the descent of the Buddha as he traverses the sky to reach the earth. He is flanked by the attendant figures but the ladder is shown in order to suggest the sky. The sky no doubt could be represented by the sun or moon, but since a circle or a wheel would suggest the dharmacakra and create confusion by making it appear as a scene of dharmacakra-pravartana, the eagle has been chosen instead to suggest Viṣṇupāda, the sky. As the word Viṣṇupāda means both the sky and the vehicle of



Viṣṇu, the eagle has been chosen to suggest the sky. Like the mātṛpuruṣa Tīrthaṅkara wearing Śrīvatsa on the chest in the manner of the Puruṣottama Viṣṇu, the Buddha as the mātṛpuruṣa is shown riding the vehicle of Viṣṇu which suggests Viṣṇupāda, the sky, whence he descended.

The greatest period of Buddhist art in Java was during the time of the Śailendra kings, from the eighth to the tenth century A.D. The great Śailendra monarchs were intensely devoted to the Buddhist faith and were in active touch with the Pāla and Coṣa kings in India. This Javanese influence is obvious both at Nalanda and at Nāgapaṭṭinam, and these Javanese sculptures in their turn point to Indian origins. The copper-plate grant of Devapāla-deva shows the close relationship between the Śailendra and the Pāla empires and in this is mentioned the important monasteries built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇa-dvīpa in the 9th century A.D. Rājārāja, the great Coṣa emperor who was a devotee of Śiva, but very tolerant in religious matters, was munificent in his gifts to the Buddhist Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra in Nāgapaṭṭinam built by the Śailendra king, Māraviṣayottuṅgavarman.

The Buddha flanked by the Bodhisattvas seen in the temple at Chandi Mendut is probably the loveliest produced in Java. It is not dissimilar to the seated Buddha found at Ajanta and elsewhere and closely follows its earlier Gupta prototypes. The back of the simhāsana on which he is seated is characteristic of similar representations of the late Gupta and early mediaeval periods in India. The Chandi Mendut, though a small monument, has very interesting carvings, some of them illustrations of well-known fables from Indian collections. The stories of the talkative tortoise, the monkey and the crocodile are portrayed with great gusto. A fine representation of Hārīti also comes from this monument.

Close to it is the famous Borobudur stūpa, which is a marvel of architectural and sculptural beauty. Scenes from the life of the Buddha, from the Jātakas and from the story of Sudhana in quest of enlightenment are shown in the tiers

of this great monument.

The Buddha as he finally evolved into the Enlightened One in the course of successive births is represented in his well-known dhyāna posture in rows of clearly perceptible figures on the four sides of the stūpa. These are only partially visible in the lattice-walled miniature stūpas arranged in the higher tiers, and finally invisible in the crowning stūpa with no lattice work to reveal the figure inside. This is symbolic of the transition from the gross and physical to the subtle and the infinite, from sarūpa to arūpa.

The stūpa of Borobudur is a monument of wonderful grace and approximates to the śrīcakra pattern in the sarvatobhadra fashion with the central bindu in Meru form at the top. The flights of steps leading up to the top on the four sides face the cardinal points with makara balustrades and makara-mukha toraṇas at intervals. The makaramukha with the caryatid figure below it occurs as a gargoyle at several points and resembles its Indian prototype. The first of the covered row of carvings at the base of this stūpa shows scenes of torment in hell and the fruits of good deeds in heaven based on the early Indian concept of the life beyond. It has its Brahmanical prototype in the Yamapaṭa of which there is a version at Angkor Vat. How the Bodhisattva in the form of a tortoise helped to save shipwrecked sailors by carrying them ashore, how he was patience itself in spite of the provocation he received in his life as a buffalo, how he preached to the king the great Law even when he was born as a peacock are among the stories graphically represented in exquisite sculpture at Borobudur. The representation of a ship in sculpture is nowhere more beautiful than at Borobudur.

In the narration of scenes from the Buddha's life in the Lalitavistara, the sculptor has created numerous masterpieces in addition to portraying various aspects of Hindu saṃskāras; for instance, where a boy is put to school, the mahāsaṅkalpa on the Śrāvaṇa-paūrṇimā day when he begins his studies, which is still a living custom in India, has its



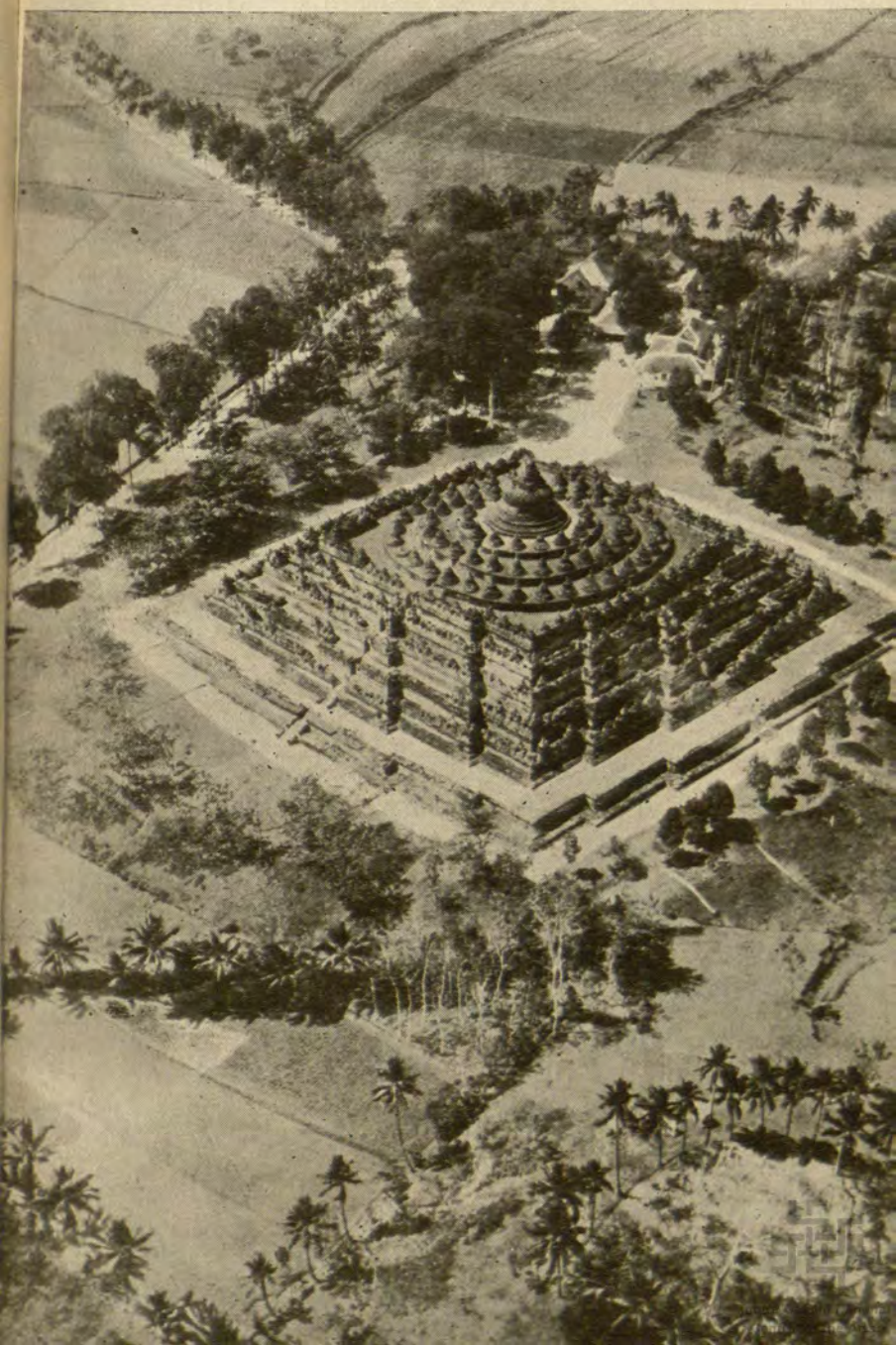
sculptural parallel carved over 1,200 years ago at Borobudur, where a row of students are represented with their hands clasped in saṅkalpa, while the guru utters the mantra. Arghya, pādyā and ācamanīya offered appropriately to guests are splendidly delineated in the sculptural series. The presentation of pūrṇa-kumbha to a mahāpuruṣa, a custom alive to this day in South India, has an early parallel at Borobudur where the pūrṇa-kumbha is offered to welcome the Buddha. The sprinkling of holy water by the priest in āśīrvāda which again is a living practice in India, is presented in sculpture at Borobudur in several scenes, including one of the marriage of prince Siddhārtha and Gopā.

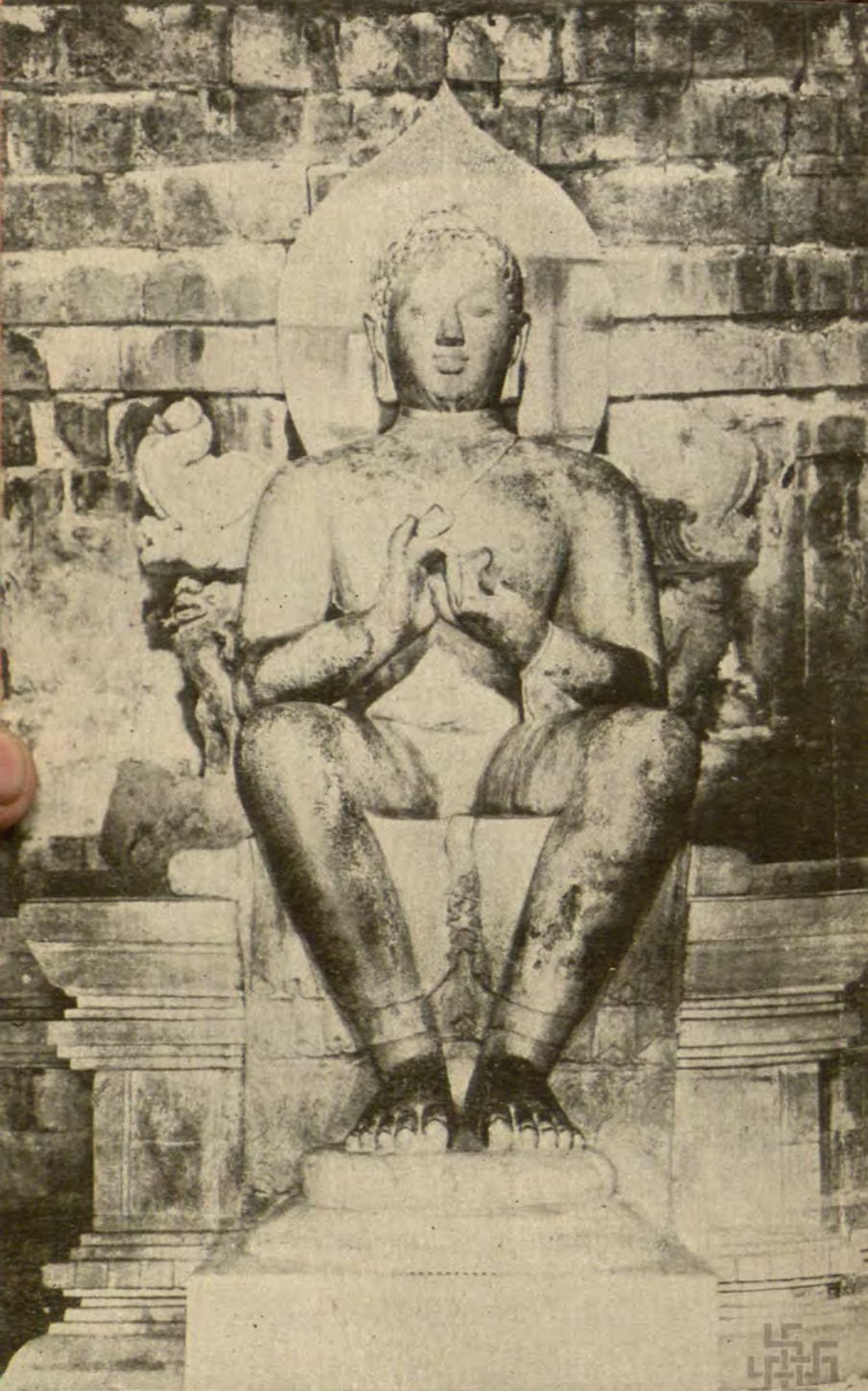
In a Jātaka scene, which still awaits interpretation and which may well be identified with the Mahāsupina Jātaka, Brahmadatta, the king, is having his dreams interpreted by brāhmaṇas. They terrify him and suggest the performance of a sacrifice, for which a host of animals and birds are gathered, but a young pupil of the king's chaplain questions the propriety of this sacrifice. With the help of a Bodhisattva, who according to this tale was born a brāhmaṇa, but renounced the world to become a hermit, the king is admonished, the sacrifice averted and the animals freed. Here is a graphic presentation of the ṛtvik priests assembled round the fire on a sacrificial altar with all the animals and birds ready for the sacrifice, which in a succeeding panel are released after the admonition of the king by the Bodhisattva.

The flight of Vidyādhara on the clouds, the ovoid halos of the divine figures, the pattern of ornamentation and dress, the architectural details of temples and maṇḍapas and palaces in sculpture, the orchestra for music composed of a variety of musical instruments, including the harp and the guitar shaped vīṇā, the flute and drums of the ūrdhva, aṅkya and ālīngya, the dance poses in representations of dance and music, the throne, the chariot, the palanquin, the sword and shield, the variety of lamps and utensils used for worship—all these motifs in Borobudur recall Indian prototypes, particularly of the Pallava and Cālukya type.



Air view of Borobudur, Java (Courtesy, Dinas-Purbakala, Djakarta)





**The Buddha. Candi Mendut, Java, 8th century A.D. (Courtesy,
Dinas-Purbakala, Djakarta)**

A remarkable masterpiece of the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. is the famous Prajñāpāramitā, now preserved in the Leyden Museum. This image from Singasari is probably the best of this deity anywhere in the world. Of other Buddhist figures in which Java abounds, there are some in metal, particularly the one of Padmapāṇi in silver at the Museum in Djakarta.

Buddhist art outside India has produced a magnificent wealth of sculpture which includes many unique specimens which have no parallel in India. The sculptor has often displayed great vision and thought in producing these masterpieces which compel the attention of scholars and connoisseurs of art all over the world.



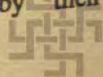
CHAPTER XII

Places of Buddhist Interest

A. IN NORTHERN INDIA

Gautama Buddha has left his footprint on the soil of India and his mark on the soul of mankind. This human teacher eclipsed even the heavenly gods and the places consecrated by his presence were held in great veneration. Before his parinirvāṇa, the Buddha spoke of the four places which a pious believer should visit with faith and reverence. They are the Lumbinī-vana where the Tathāgata was born; Gaya (Bodh Gaya) where he attained bodhi (enlightenment); the Deer Park at Isipatana (Sarnath) where he proclaimed the Law for the first time; and Kuśinagara where he reached the unconditioned state of nirvāṇa.

In the Buddhist sacred lore there are four other places which with the above four make up the aṭṭhamahāsthānāni (aṣṭamahāsthānāni) or eight sanctified spots. They were the scenes of four of the principal miracles that the Blessed One was said to have performed. At Śrāvastī, the capital of Kośala, the Buddha gave a display of his miraculous powers to confound the leader of the Tīrthika sect. Next, in accordance with the practice of the previous Buddhas, he ascended the heaven of the thirty-three gods, preached the Abhidhamma to his deceased mother and descended to earth at Sāṅkāśya. Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, was the scene of another miracle in which he tamed the mad elephant, Nālagiri, that had been let loose by his jealous cousin, Devadatta. In a mango grove at Vaisali, a number of monkeys offered him a bowl of honey. The famous cities in India at that time were thus hallowed by their



association with the Buddha's religion.

These holy places became centres of great attraction for the pious believers and pilgrimages were religiously undertaken to these places. Aśoka calls such pilgrimages *dharmayātā* (*dharmayātrā*), or tours of piety. Many other places, too, rose into prominence as the influence of Buddhism spread. The places of Buddhist significance are many in the land of Gautama Buddha and in their flourishing days their sanctity, no less than their splendour and magnificence, attracted visitors from far and wide.

Lumbinī

Among the sacred places of Buddhism, Lumbinī where the Blessed One was born must inevitably come first. It has been identified with the site of Rummindei, in the Nepalese Terai. As the birth-place of the Buddha, the site grew in sanctity and importance. Many are the establishments that rose on the site. Very few, however, are now in existence. Of course, there still stands at the site a pillar engraved with an inscription commemorating the great Aśoka's pilgrimage to this place in the twentieth year after his consecration. "Here the Buddha was born", says the emperor, and this statement proves the identity of the sanctified spot beyond any doubt. Apart from the pillar, there is an ancient shrine with an image representing the nativity of the Lord as described in the sacred texts.

Bodh Gaya

Bodh Gaya where the Buddha attained supreme wisdom (bodhi) lies six miles to the south of Gaya, a place of Hindu pilgrimage. To the devout Buddhist there is no place of greater interest or sanctity than the holy spot of the Buddha's enlightenment.¹ Sacred shrines and stately

1. Several interesting inscriptions have been discovered at this site, according to which Ceylonese, Burmese and Chinese people visited this place of pilgrimage. Two Ceylonese inscriptions in Sanskrit tell us about one

[Continued on next page]

monuments were raised all around and the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, gives us a glimpse of the past splendour of this sanctified site.

Yuan Chwang ascribes the erection of the original Bodhi shrine to Emperor Aśoka. According to one of his rock edicts, Aśoka visited this place, which is called Sambodhi in the inscription, when he had been consecrated ten years, and it is more than probable that the great emperor constructed a shrine on this holy spot. No vestiges of such a shrine can, however, be found at present. Scholars are of the opinion that the Bodhi shrine carved in a Bhārhut relief (circa 2nd century B.C.) might represent the one erected by Aśoka. It seems to have consisted of a balustraded gallery enclosing the Bodhi tree, preceded by a column of the type on which Aśoka's edicts are carved. The original balustrades seem to have been of wooden construction, which was later translated into stone. The stately structure, which we see nowadays, is a later erection. This temple has been restored and renovated many times. From the description of Yuan Chwang it appears that the temple, essentially in its present shape and appearance, existed already in the seventh century A.D. The Mahābodhi temple in Burma is a prototype of this grand temple.

As it now stands, the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gaya is approximately 160 feet high and consists of a straight pyramidal tower surmounted by a stūpa, complete with the harmikā and the hti with a fluted āmalaka-like lower member. The tower has angle āmalakas at the corners, demar-

Mahānāma (II) of Ceylon, who offered an image of the Buddha and constructed a palatial building (*prāsāda*) at this place. Burmese inscriptions in corrupt Sanskrit (in Nāgarī characters) and in Burmese tell us of repairs and offerings to the shrine made on behalf of Burma from time to time. The two Chinese inscriptions (10-11th centuries A.D.) are written by Chinese pilgrims. One of them mentions the names of several Chinese pilgrims who visited the place, along with its author, Che-Yi, and who had taken a vow to do such meritorious deeds as would lead to their birth in the Tuṣita heaven. The second, written by K'oyun (and not by Yu-shu, for which see *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 114), is a eulogy of the three kāyas of the Buddha, namely, Nirmāṇa-kāya Sambhoga-kāya and Dharma-kāya.



cating its different stages. The entrance porch, evidently later than the original temple, is on the east. Each of the four sides of the tower presents several tiers of niches, while the front face has a tall lancet opening for the admission of light into the sanctum. At the base of the tower there rises a turret at each of the four corners, a miniature replica of the main spire.

The temple enshrines a great gilded figure of the Blessed One touching the earth which symbolizes the supreme event of enlightenment. Along the northern side of the temple, there is a narrow masonry platform raised about four feet above the ground. This is known as the "jewel shrine of the walk" or the Buddha's Promenade (*caṅkama*), where after attaining enlightenment the Great Teacher is said to have spent a week walking to and fro in deep meditation. At the points where he set his feet, there are sculptured ornaments representing the miraculous blossoms which are said to have sprung up in his footsteps. Passing along this promenade and to the west of the temple stands the Bodhi tree and the holy spot of enlightenment, now marked by a red sandstone slab, representing the Vajrāsana on which the Master is said to have reached Perfect Wisdom. The original Mahābodhi shrine, as represented in the early reliefs, is portrayed as enclosing this holy spot including the Bodhi tree. The idea of erecting a temple with a lofty conical tower necessitated its erection a little to the east of this holy spot so that the holy spot and the Bodhi tree now stand at the back of the temple.

Around the temple lie innumerable remains of which the most important are portions of the stone railing which represent two different periods of construction, the earlier going back to about the 2nd century B.C. and the latter to the early Gupta period. Interesting carvings are still to be seen on these rail posts, and of these the figure of Indra as Śānti, and that of Sūrya, the Sun god, drawn by a four-horsed chariot, are noteworthy. Beautiful sculptures and richly decorated votive stūpas, scattered all round, still con-



tinue to attract the admiring gaze of pilgrims and visitors. The residence of the Mahanta, who was for a long time in charge of the temple precincts, is close to the great temple and, like the sculpture shed nearby, is a store-house of fine sculptures and other relics which once embellished this holy spot. In the immediate vicinity are situated seven sacred sites, which, according to tradition, were identical with those where the Lord is said to have passed seven tranquil weeks in the enjoyment of his Buddhahood.

Sarnath

Sarnath marks the birth of the religion of Gautama Buddha. Hence it became a great centre of Buddhist activities and remained so for more than a millennium and a half. The inscriptions refer to the site as the "Monastery of the Turning of the Wheel of Righteousness" (*Saddharma-cakra-pravartana vihāra*) by which name this sacred place was known to ancient Buddhist writers. Though very little is known of the history of the Deer Park during the early centuries of Buddhism, the place acquired celebrity, like the other holy places of Buddhism, from the time of Aśoka. This saintly monarch erected a series of monuments, including a pillar inscribed with an edict warning the resident monks and nuns against creating schisms in the church. The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, visited the place in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. respectively, and left us valuable information regarding this important site. In later periods also, the site grew in size and prosperity and inscriptions and other evidence relate to the building of new shrines and edifices, as well as to the renovation of old ones, one of the latest being the Temple of the Wheel of the Law founded by Kumāradevī, one of the queens of King Govindacandra of Kanauj, in the first half of the 12th century A.D. Soon after, the place was destroyed, presumably by the armies of Muhammad Ghori. There is evidence of earlier vandalism, once probably by the Hūṇas and later during the sacking of Banaras by Şultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Such damage,





Lion Capital of Asoka's Column. Stone, Sarnath, 3rd century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)



Main Stupa. Sanchi, 3rd century B.C.—1st century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

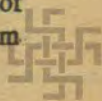


however, was immediately repaired by pious devotees, but this final catastrophe brought waste and desolation to the prosperous establishments.

The ruins of Sarnath cover an extensive area. The Archaeological Department has done a good deal of excavation at the site and a number of interesting monuments and sculptures of exquisite beauty and workmanship have come to light. As one approaches the site from Banaras, the first landmark that attracts the eye is a lofty mound of brickwork, locally known as the Chaukhandi, surmounted by an octagonal tower at the top. The mound represents the ruins of a stūpa on a terraced basement erected to mark the spot where the Buddha, on his way from Gaya to Isipatana, first met his five former comrades who were soon to become converts to his Faith.

Half a mile to the north is the site of the Deer Park, which must have had imposing buildings in the days of its pristine greatness. All is now in ruins, save a battered structure, the Dhamekh stūpa, which rears its head to a height of nearly 150 feet above the surrounding country. The ruins have been laid bare by the spade of the archæologists and the site, as exposed, shows that temples and stūpas occupied the central position with monasteries in the area around them. They belong to different periods of construction, the earliest going back to the days of Aśoka. Traces of successive restorations and renovations are also evident in some of the important buildings.

The Aśoka stūpa, seen by Yuan Chwang, has been identified with the ruins of a large brick stūpa, commonly known as Jagat Singh's stūpa after Jagat Singh, the Diwan of Raja Chait Singh of Banaras. He dismantled it in 1794 for bricks for the construction of a market in Banaras. The site of this stūpa probably marks the spot where the Buddha delivered his first discourse and thus literally turned the Wheel of the Law. A little farther to the north stands the broken stump of the Aśoka pillar, the magnificent Lion Capital of which may now be seen in the Archaeological Museum.



nearby. On the east may be seen the ruins of a temple, designated the main shrine, which must date from the Gupta period, if not earlier.

Around the main shrine there is a paved court with a similar approach from the east. In this court are found innumerable remains of stūpas of various shapes and sometimes also of shrines, the remnants of pious benefactions of votaries and pilgrims who flocked to this holy spot. On the north and south were ranged monastic establishments.

Among the ruins at Sarnath, the most imposing is no doubt the Dhamekh stūpa situated at the south-east corner of the site. Battered though it is, it still stands 143 ft. high from its original foundations. Indeed, it is a solid structure, built of massive blocks of stone at the lower stage and of brick, probably faced with stone, at the upper. It is of cylindrical shape and is relieved in the lower section by eight projecting bays, each with a large niche originally containing an image. This lower section has a broad belt of carved ornamentation of intricate geometric pattern with floral arabesques above and below it. The modern name, Dhamekh, is probably derived from the Sanskrit *dharmekśa*, meaning "the pondering of the Law", and since it is in a line with the Dhamarājika stūpa of Aśoka which stands due west of it, it must have been an important monument. The original structure on this spot also possibly dated from the days of Aśoka.

Apart from the ruins and relics of the past, a place of modern interest is furnished by the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra, erected by the Mahabodhi Society where are enshrined certain Buddhist relics discovered at Takṣaśilā (Taxila), Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mirpur-khas in Sindh.

The antiquities so far discovered in the ruins are numerous and consist of sculptures, bas-reliefs, rail fragments, terra cotta figurines, seals and sealings, inscriptions, pottery vessels, and various other objects. With very few exceptions, they pertain to the Buddhist religion and cover a period of approximately 1,500 years, from the 3rd century



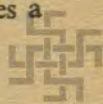
B.C. to the 12th century A.D. They have been housed in a neat little Museum and a sculpture shed, situated near the ruins, which well repays a visit. The Lion Capital, originally surmounting the Aśoka pillar, now occupies a place of honour in the Museum. It consists of four addorsed lions, supported on an abacus over a bell-shaped lower member. The capital was originally crowned by a wheel, the fragments of which have been recovered from the ruins. Symbolical of India's message of peace and goodwill to the world, the capital now forms the crest of resurgent India.

One of the foremost of the sculptures in the Museum is the famous sandstone image of the Master in the act of setting the wheel of the Law in motion (*dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*), which is a masterpiece of Indian plastic art.

Kuśinagara

Kuśinagara or Kusinārā is sacred to Buddhists as it was the place where under a grove of sal trees the Lord passed into nirvāṇa in his eightieth year. The site has been identified with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

Like the other sacred places connected with the eventful life of the Master, Kusinārā rose to be an important place of pilgrimage and in the course of time was covered with sacred shrines and monasteries. For reasons unknown, however, the place was deserted early in its history, and both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang note the utter ruin and desolation of this once important site. The remains that have been partially laid bare by excavations are extremely fragmentary, but the identity of the place with the site of the parinirvāṇa is settled beyond doubt by the discovery of inscriptions referring to the Parinirvāṇa Caitya. The stūpa of parinirvāṇa which Aśoka is said to have built has not yet been brought to light. The Parinirvāṇa Caitya to which the inscriptions refer dates from the Gupta period and it is possible that the Aśoka stūpa lies buried under the later construction. Among the other sacred edifices that still remain may be mentioned the Mathā Kunwar kā Koṭ which enshrines a



large recumbent figure of the Buddha in the state of nirvāṇa. The image was found in fragments and has been skilfully restored by Mr. Carlleyle. The great stūpa which stood on the spot where the body of the Lord was cremated and where the relics of the Master were divided into eight equal portions is probably represented by a large mound locally known as Ramabhar. This mound has only been partially examined and a more systematic exploration is expected to bring to light important material relating to the history of this venerable spot.

Śrāvastī

Śrāvastī (modern Saheth-Maheth in U.P.), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Kośala, was sacred to the Buddhists, because it was here that the Master, in accordance with the practice of the previous Buddhas, performed the greatest of his miracles. It was here that the Buddha had to take part in a contest of miraculous feats with the Tīrthikas before King Prasenajit of Kośala and the assembled audience. The Buddha took his seat on a thousand petalled lotus and created multiple representations of himself which went up to the highest heaven. The heretical teachers discomfited at this miraculous event dared not show their own feats and were finally confounded by a violent thunderstorm and obliged to run away. The supreme position of the Master was thus vindicated and he preached the Law before a huge assemblage of people that had come to witness the miracle. The Śrāvastī episode has been a favourite theme in Buddhist art from very early times.

Even from the days of the Buddha, Śrāvastī was an active centre of Buddhism and it was here that the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika built, in the garden of Prince Jeta purchased at a fabulous price in gold, a large monastery for the reception of the Master. The story of its purchase and its eventual presentation to the Lord was a favourite theme in early Buddhist art. In later times also shrines and monasteries arose on this sacred spot which continued to be a flourishing centre

of the Buddhist faith for a long time.

Saheth-Maheth consists of two distinct sites. The larger one, Maheth, spreads over about 400 acres and has been identified with the remains of the city proper. Saheth, covering about 32 acres and lying about a quarter of a mile to the south-west, is the site of the Jetavana monastery. The excavations on the former site have laid bare the remains of the massive gates of the city and the ruins of other structures, indicating the prosperous state of the city in days gone by. The latter, sanctified by the Master's association, rose to be an important place of pilgrimage and numerous shrines, stūpas and monasteries were built in it. The remains so far brought to light date approximately from the Mauryan epoch down to the decadent days of Buddhism in the 12th century A.D. One of the earliest stūpas, the original foundation of which may go back to the 3rd century B.C., if not earlier, contained some bone relics, probably those of the Master himself. A colossal statue of the Master was found at the site. One of the latest patrons of the establishment was Kumāradevī, the queen of Govindacandra, the Gadhavāla king of Kanauj, who donated some land for the maintenance of the Jetavana monastery in the year 1128-29 A.D. Buddhism was already on the decline and the prosperity of this site finally ended with the Islamic occupation of the land.

Saṅkāśya

Another holy spot connected with the life of the Master was Saṅkāśya (Saṅkiśa-Basantapur, Etah district, Uttar Pradesh) where the Buddha is said to have descended to earth from the Trayastrimśa heaven (Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods) where he went to preach the Abhidharma to his mother and other gods. This event is said to have occurred after the Great Miracle was performed at Śrāvastī, as it was an immutable law that all Buddhas should resort to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods after they had performed their greatest miracles. According to Buddhist legend, the Lord came down by a triple ladder, accompanied by the



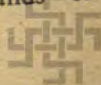
gods, Brahmā and Śakra, and the incident forms a favourite motif in Buddhist art. Owing to this sacred association, Śaṅkāśya came to be an important place of pilgrimage, and important shrines, stūpas and monasteries were raised on the site in the heyday of Buddhism.

Both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang visited the place and left interesting accounts of the important monuments. Through long neglect, however, all is now in crumbling ruins. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims also are too meagre to admit of any proper identification of the remains extant. The present village is perched on a mound, locally known as the fort, 41 feet high and with an area, 1,500 feet by 1,000. A quarter of a mile to the south is another mound, composed of solid brickwork and surmounted by a temple dedicated to Bisari Devī. Other mounds containing masses of brickwork may be seen scattered around and there are also the remains of an earthen rampart over $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference. The trial diggings, undertaken long ago by Cunningham, indicate the extremely fragmentary nature of the remains and of the urgent necessity of more systematic explorations. The Elephant Capital that once surmounted a column is an important relic of the days of Aśoka and further explorations are expected to lay bare important material which has relevance to the history of this site.

Rājagṛha

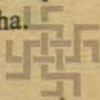
Rājagṛha, (modern Rajgir in the Patna district of Bihar), the capital of the powerful state of Magādhā, was sacred to the Buddhists for more than one reason. Not only did the Master go into a retreat several times in this famous city, but it was also the place where Devadatta, his wicked cousin, made several attempts on his life. Moreover, in this city, in the Sattapaṇṇi (Saptaparni) cave of the Vaibhāra hill, was held the first Buddhist Council (Saṅgīti) just after the parinirvāṇa.

The remains of the ancient city are few and far between. The site appears to have suffered much at the hands of



time. The ruins indicate that the followers of different religious denominations live here. The Buddhist remains, except for stray and isolated images, are scanty, and it is not impossible that the visible monuments were denuded partly through religious animosities. Even the identification of the Sattapaṇṇi cave, the site of the first Council, is not beyond doubt. According to the canonical texts, the cave was situated on the northern fringe of the Vaibhāra hill and Stein may be right when he identifies the site with the large terrace with a group of cells at the back in a semi-circular bend of the rock on the northern scarp. A remarkable structure, known as Jarāsandha ki Baiṭhak, on the eastern slope of the Vaibhāra hill, with irregular cells at the sides has been identified by some with the residence of Pippala. Some of the Pali texts describes the Pippala cave as the residence of Mahākāśyapa, the organizer of the First Council. From the cyclopaean masonry, analogous to that of the city walls and its bastioned gateways, this erection appears, however, to be more military than secular or religious in character. A mound to the west of the citadel is usually connected with a stūpa, which, according to Fa-hien, was built by Ajātaśatru, and by Aśoka according to Yuan Chwang. Trial diggings on this mound have exposed several strata, none of which, however, can be traced back to the pre-Christian epoch. The cave, called the Sonbhāṇḍār, on the southern scrap of the Vaibhāra hill might have been a Buddhist excavation, though the possibility of its having been a Jaina establishment cannot altogether be ruled out. The Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, which was a favourite resort of the Buddha, is not far from the city.

Rājagṛha was also an active centre of Jainism in ancient times, as it is now, and interesting remains of Jaina shrines and sculptures are still extant. A singular monument may be recognized in the cylindrical brick shrine, almost at the centre of the old city. It is known as Maniyār Maṭha, and was dedicated, according to local tradition, to the worship of Maṇi-nāga, the guardian deity of the city of Rājagṛha.

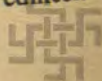


Vaisali

The city of Vaisali (Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar), the capital of the powerful Licchavi clan, was a stronghold of Buddhism in the early days. Gautama Buddha is said to have visited it three times during his lifetime. In one of these visits several monkeys are said to have offered the Lord a bowl of honey, an incident mentioned among the eight great events in the life of the Master. It was here again that the Buddha announced his approaching nirvāṇa, and after the nirvāṇa the Licchavis are said to have erected a stūpa over their share of the remains of the Master. A little over a hundred years after the nirvāṇa, the Second Buddhist Council was held here. To the Jainas also, Vaisali was equally sacred, being the birth-place of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

The site of Rājā Bisāl kā Gaḍh is believed to represent the citadel of Vaisali. It consists of a large brick-covered mound, about 8 feet above the surrounding level and slightly less than a mile in circumference. Originally surrounded by a ditch, it was approached by a broad embanked causeway from the south. Trial diggings have exposed the foundations of old buildings of irregular plan which may date back to the Gupta period. All these buildings were of a purely secular character. The most interesting finds consist of a large number of clay seals, official and private, the latter bearing the names of individuals or guilds of merchants, bankers and traders. The official seals indicate that Vaisali was an important administrative headquarters in the Gupta period, and an interesting seal, engraved in characters of the Maurya period, refers to the patrol outpost at Vaisali.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, visited Vaisali in the course of their travels. The latter described the city as covering an area of 10 to 12 square miles. He wrote that, within and without and all around the town of Vaisali, the sacred monuments were so numerous that it was difficult to mention them all. Unfortunately, the area is now practically denuded of any visible remains of religious edifices.



At Kolhua, two miles to the north-west of Rājā Bisāl kā Gaḍh, there stands a monolithic pillar (locally known as Bhimsen's Lath) of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a bell-shaped capital that supports the sedent figure of a lion on a square abacus. It is about 22 feet above the present ground level, a considerable portion having sunk underground in the course of time. In style it resembles the edict pillars of Aśoka, but diggings round the shaft have failed to reveal any Aśokan inscription. Nevertheless, it can be identified with one of the Aśoka pillars mentioned by Yuan Chwang at the site of ancient Vaisali. The line of pillars in the Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts—at Rāmapūrva, Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangaḍh, and Kolhua—is believed to have marked the stages of a royal journey from Pāṭaliputra to Lumbinī which Aśoka undertook in the 20th year of his consecration. Nearby to the south, there is a small tank, called Rāma-kuṇḍa, identified by Cunningham with the ancient Markaṭa-hrada (monkey's tank), believed to have been dug by a colony of monkeys for the use of the Buddha. To the north-west there is a ruined mound, at present only 15 feet high and with a diameter of about 65 feet at the base, which has been identified with the remains of the Aśoka stūpa mentioned by Yuan Chwang. On the summit of this mound stands a modern brick temple enshrining a medieval image of the Buddha.

It will not be out of place to recount also a few other memorable sites of Buddhism, the sites of sacred shrines, stūpas and monasteries. In the course of the spread of Buddhism in India, such sites, though not particularly associated with the life and legend of the Buddha, rose into prominence on account of the imposing monuments that were raised in and around them. Of these, Sanchi in the former Bhopal State is important as the site of one of the earliest of the stūpas, which later grew into an important centre of Buddhist monuments. Takṣaśilā, (modern Taxila), now in West Pakistan, also rose to be a very prominent site in the early days. Kauśāmbī, the capital city of the Vatsa

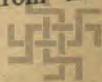


kingdom, was an early centre of Buddhism, and it was here that the famous *Ghoṣitārāma Vihāra* stood. The remains of this monastery have been laid bare in the recent excavation of *Kosava*, the site of ancient *Kauśāmbī*, while in the medieval period the *Nalanda* monasteries in *Bihar* were famous throughout the Buddhist world of that time. In the days when Buddhism flourished, many other sites, too, became important sites of the good faith (*Saddharma*).

Sanchi

Sanchi (549 miles from *Bombay*) is the site of the most extensive Buddhist remains now known in *India*. The site had no apparent connection with the traditional history of *Gautama Buddha*; the place is scarcely mentioned in Buddhist literature. Even the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, which are a mine of information about the other ancient centres of Buddhism, do not refer to this site at all. It is surprising therefore that the monuments at *Sanchi* should now form the most magnificent and perfect examples of early Buddhist art in *India*. There seems to be considerable force in the view that *Sanchi* is the modern representative of *Cetiya-giri* of the *Ceylonese Chronicles*, which was situated in the neighbourhood of *Vidiśā*. It is connected with the story of *Aśoka's* marriage with a merchant's daughter and the erection of a monastery on the hill where *Mahendra*, *Aśoka's* son by that marriage, is said to have halted on the way to his proselytizing mission in *Ceylon*. Whether the story is true or not, the fact remains that the earliest monuments at *Sanchi* date from the time of *Aśoka* and it is not impossible that it was the patronage of this Constantine of Buddhism which made the place an active centre of the religion of *Gautama Buddha* and was responsible for the splendour of the site in days gone by.

Most of the monuments are situated on a plateau on the hill top which was enclosed by a wall of solid stone about 1100 A.D. Of the *stūpas*, there are many dating from the 3rd century B.C. They vary in size ranging from the



Great Stūpa that measures 100 feet in diameter at the base and has a vast, imposing dome nearly 50 feet high to miniature ones no more than a foot high.

Originally built of brick in the time of Aśoka, the Great Stūpa was enlarged to nearly twice its previous size, and faced with stone, perhaps a century later, when the massive balustrade and the four imposing gateways were added. These gateways (torāṇas) on the four cardinal faces constitute, with their richly carved decorations, a most striking contrast with the simplicity of the structure behind. All the four gateways are of similar design, and the technique employed in their construction shows that they were more the work of carpenters than of stonemasons. The gateways, with columns and superstructures, are richly carved with bas-reliefs illustrating the Jātaka tales, scenes in the life of the Master, and important events in the subsequent history of the Faith. Reference may be made to one singular relief panel in an architrave of one of the gateways which represents the visit of Aśoka to the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya. The greatest patron of Buddhism has not been portrayed in any other monument in India. This portrait of the Emperor may not be authentic, but this unique representation of one of the greatest figures of Indian history must be cherished by all his countrymen.

Of the many other stūpas on this site, three are specially noteworthy. One of these, stūpa No. 3, is to the north-east of the Great Stūpa and although smaller is of almost identical design. In the relic chamber of this stūpa, General Cunningham discovered the relics of Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna, two of the famous disciples of the Lord, which were recently brought back from London for consecration in a new shrine at Sanchi. Another small stūpa, near the foot of the hill on the western side, enshrined the relics of Kāśyapa and Moggaliputta, well-known Buddhist apostles of the 3rd century B.C.

In the surrounding region, groups of stūpas lie scattered and of these a few have proved to be of particular sanctity



on account of the relics enshrined in them.

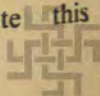
Of more historical value are the battered remains of the Aśoka pillar, with its capital of four lions back to back. It is situated close to the south gate of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi. On its broken stump one can still see the edict in which the Emperor forbids in strong terms any schism in the Church. Its lustrous polish, its design and style place it with similar edict pillars of Aśoka.

The chief fascination of Sanchi no doubt rests on these grand old stūpas, not only on account of their sanctity but also because of their rich and elaborate carvings. This fascination is further enhanced by the shrines and monasteries that cluster around them and give a vivid picture of monastic life on this peaceful hill top. Among these, the most noteworthy is the Caitya Hall (Temple No. 18), situated directly opposite the south gateway of the Great Stūpa, and is especially interesting as one of the few examples of this kind of structural edifice.

Another structure recalling the classic temples of Greece may be seen in a tiny and unpretentious shrine (Temple No. 17), consisting of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed square chamber with a pillared portico in front. Though modest in dimensions, its structural propriety, symmetry and proportions, appreciation for plane surfaces and restraint in ornament may very well compare with the best architectural creations of classical Greece.

Of the monasteries at Sanchi, there are five examples and they date from the 4th to the 12th century A.D. The earlier ones, once occupying the site, were built of wood and have perished or been buried under the foundations of later structures. Those that have survived, or are now exposed to view, are built more or less on the usual plan of an open quadrangular court surrounded by ranges of two-storeyed apartments.

The incomparable monuments of Sanchi were rescued from centuries of oblivion as early as 1818 and a host of scholars and archaeologists have tried to resuscitate this

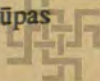


memorable site of the past. The major part of the exploration and restoration work goes to the credit of Sir John Marshall, a former Director General of Archaeology in India, who has not only excavated the numerous remains, but also recreated the structures.

Nalanda

The far-famed monastic establishments at Nalanda (Bargaon near Rajgir) were of supreme importance in the history of latter-day Buddhism. According to tradition, the place was visited several times by the Buddha and the history of the monastic establishments can be traced back to the days of Aśoka. But excavations have not yet revealed any proof that it was occupied prior to the time of the Guptas; and inscriptions, seals and other remains, coupled with references in literature provide a glimpse of the flourishing state of this famous monastic site from the 5th to the end of the 12th century A.D. It was at this monastery that the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, stayed for some time. He gives a detailed and graphic account of the different establishments with as many as 10,000 inmates, their rules and practices. He also mentions Harṣa and several of his predecessors as beneficent patrons of this institution. I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, has also left us a picture of the life led by the Nalanda monks, who were maintained by 200 villages donated by different kings. Nalanda was known throughout the Buddhist world of that time for its learned and versatile teachers, and the names of Ācārya Śīlabhadra, Śāntarakṣita, and Atiśa or Dīpaṅkara, shining luminaries among a galaxy of many others, conjure up a vision of the supreme eminence of the Nalanda Mahāvihāra throughout its prosperous history.

The ruins of Nalanda extend over a large area. The structures exposed to view represent only a part of the extensive establishment and consist of monastic sites, stūpa sites and temple sites. Lengthwise they extend from south to north, the monasteries on the eastern flank and the stūpas



and the temples on the west. The monasteries were all built on more or less the same plan in each case, with rows of cells preceded by a corridor round a central courtyard and a shrine against the back wall, opposite the entrance. Different strata, accumulated one above the other, are clearly seen and indicate successive repairs and renovations. There is also evidence that these monasteries were storeyed structures; and they convey, even in their ruins, a memory of their imposing and glorious past.

Stūpa site No. 3 represents a huge structure standing in the middle of a court on the south-western flank, surrounded by a number of votive stūpas.

To the north of this stūpa and in the same alignment, there have been exposed structures each of which consists of a temple erected directly over the remains of an earlier one.

In the Museum nearby are deposited numerous sculptures and other antiquities recovered during the excavations, and these, by their great variety and fine workmanship, are most impressive.

The wealth of epigraphic material is no less telling. It includes copper-plate and stone inscriptions and inscriptions on bricks and terra-cotta seals. Among the latter, we have the official seal belonging to the community of venerable monks of the great monastery.

The Buddhism that was practised at Nalanda and other contemporary institutions in Bengal and Bihar was no longer the simple Hīnayāna; nor was it the Mahāyāna of the early days. It was strongly imbued with ideas of Tantrism not far removed from Tāntric Brahmanism. The Muslim invasion dealt a death blow to these cloistered strongholds and the flickering remains of the religion of Gautama Buddha, which had been so transformed as to have been absorbed, almost unawares, into modern Hinduism.

B. IN WESTERN INDIA

It cannot be said with certainty when Buddhism spread

to Saurashtra. However, there seems to be no reason to suppose that any form of Buddhism existed in the province before Aśoka sent his missionaries to propagate it. He had one of his edicts incised on a rock at the foot of Mount Girnar near Junāgaḍh in the heart of the province. Buddhism soon spread in the province as a result of his activities and several Buddhist caves have been excavated in the southern and south-eastern parts of Saurashtra. From their extremely simple architecture and from the general absence of sculpture, it would seem that they belonged to a very early period, probably the second century B.C., if not earlier.

Junāgaḍh

Junāgaḍh, the capital of the province, which owing to the presence of the Aśoka edict had already become famous among Buddhists, became a centre of attraction for them. In the vicinity of Girnar Hills, we find now on a huge rock the full text of what are known as the Fourteen Rock Edicts. The text inscribed in Brāhmī characters on this rock is remarkably well preserved. Naturally, the most important of the caves excavated in Saurashtra are in and around Junāgaḍh. They must have been very numerous and continued to be important at least up to the middle of the seventh century, for while visiting Junāgaḍh, Yuan Chwang had noticed at least fifty convents with at least three thousand monks of the Sthavira sect. These caves fall into three groups, namely, those in Junāgaḍh proper, those in Ūparkoṭ and those called Khāprākḥodiā, close to the town. The caves at Junāgaḍh have two to three storeys and have been excavated in three stages. Two of them measure 28' × 16' and 26' × 20'. Among the caves in Ūparkoṭ, which was the citadel of the old city, the caitya windows, the deep tanks, measuring seventeen feet square, and the two wells, popularly called Aḍiḍi-vāv and Navaghan-vāv, are the most interesting. One of the three Khāprākḥodiā caves, locally known as Khanjar-mahal,

measures $250' \times 80'$. The other is $38'$ square, and the third measures $61' \times 60'$. The second and the third caves have four and sixteen heavy pillars respectively. No inscription has been found in any of the caves.

One can imagine from the evidence on the spot that in early times large monasteries must have existed at Junāgaḍh and mount Girnar. The remains of two brick-built stūpas have recently been exposed at Intwa on a hill about three miles away from Aśoka's edict. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay seal belonging to a bhikṣu-saṅgha which resided in the vihāra of Mahārāja Rudrasena. This king was most probably Rudrasena I of the Kṣatrapa family who ruled from 199 to 222 A.D.

Besides Junāgaḍh, many places have become important in Saurashtra owing to the Buddhist caves found there.

Dhānk

Dhānk is thirty miles north-west of Junāgaḍh and seven miles south-east of Porbandar. Here, four plain caves are preserved, the rest having been destroyed through decay in the soft rock. However, the octagonal pillars with their square bases and capitals still stand. There are also to be found some rude mythological sculptures of a later date, besides a well called after Mañjuśrī.

Siddhasar

A few miles to the west of Dhānk is Siddhasar where there are a number of caves situated in a ravine called Jhinghar Jhu.

Talājā

Besides Junāgaḍh, Talājā, thirty miles south of Bhavnagar near the mouth of the Śatruñjaya river, also seems to have been a great Buddhist centre. There are 36 caves and a tank measuring $15' \times 20'$. One of the largest of the caves is locally known as the Ebhal-maṇḍap and is $75' \times 67\frac{1}{2}'$ and $17\frac{1}{2}'$ high. It had four octagonal pillars but no cells.

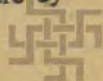
One of the caves had a dagoba. The simplicity of the arrangement and the complete absence of sculptures in the caves show that they belonged to an early date, probably only a little later than the reign of Aśoka.

Sānāh

The caves at Sānāh, which is to the south-west of Talājā and sixteen miles north of Ūnā, are important. Both sides of the hill are honeycombed with more than 62 caves. They are of a plain type and well supplied with tanks for water. The largest of them is locally known as Ebhalmaṇḍap and measures $68\frac{1}{2}' \times 61' \times 16\frac{1}{2}'$. It has six pillars in front but none inside. Although the caves in Saurashtra are among the most ancient, they do not possess the interest that attaches to many of the same period found elsewhere. Among the numerous caves there is not a single caitya cave which can be compared with the caves of this class in other parts of the country. The vihāras, too, are very simple and do not show any important architectural features.

Valabhī

From the sixth century A.D., Buddhist activities in Saurashtra seem to have centered in a new place called Valabhī, twenty-two miles to the north-west of Bhavanagar. It acquired great importance as a place of Buddhist interest and Yuan Chwang spoke of it in glowing terms when he visited it in 640 A.D. According to him, there were one hundred convents where six thousand devotees of the Sāmmitīya school resided. In those days, Valabhī was considered to be next in importance to Nalanda as a centre of Buddhist learning, and became the home of the renowned Buddhist scholars, Sthiramati and Guṇamati. Not less than thirty copper-plate inscriptions, of the seventh and eighth century A.D., have been found. These record that land grants were given by the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī to no fewer than fifteen Buddhist monasteries built there by

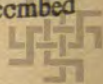


members of the royal family, their officers and Buddhist saints. The inscriptions, however, do not state whether any of these monasteries enshrined the earthly remains of Buddhist saints. Unfortunately, Valabhī is now in ruins, and nothing remains to prove its former glory.

Kāmpilya

Curiously enough, we do not come across any place of Buddhist interest in Gujarat proper. Only a solitary place named Kāmpilya, near Navasārī, seems to have been of some importance. A copper-plate inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Dantivarman of Gujarat, dated S. 789 (867 A.D.), records that, after bathing in the river Purāvī (modern Pūrṇā in the Surat district), the king donated lands at the request of the monk, Sthiramati, in favour of the Kāmpilya vihāra, where there lived five hundred monks of the Saṅgha of Sindhu Deśa. Another inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Dhāravarṣa, records a similar grant to the same monastery in S. 806 (884 A.D.). It seems that the Buddhist community migrated from Sindh, presumably for fear of the Muslims and founded a vihāra at Kāmpilya which was already known as a sacred place.

Buddhism was most popular in Maharashtra from the time of Aśoka who sent Buddhist missionaries to preach there and had one of his edicts engraved on a rock at Sopārā on the West Coast. From this time, right up to the decline and disappearance of Buddhism, Maharashtra continued to be favourably inclined towards Buddhism. Consequently a number of Buddhist places of interest are to be found in the province. It is well known that, just as Buddhist structural monasteries were built above ground in flat regions, Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries were always excavated underground in hilly tracts. The latter could not therefore be at places sanctified by the association of the Buddha or of Buddhist saints. The Sahyādri mountain in western Maharashtra with its hard trap was best suited for rock-cut architecture. It was accordingly honeycombed



with cells at every possible spot, so that the majority of the Buddhist caves in India are found in western Maharashtra. It was also customary in ancient times to adorn these caves with mural paintings. The skill involved in rock-cut architecture and its decoration was held in such esteem that the masons who excavated the caves and the artists who decorated them were rewarded with gifts of land as is evident from some of the inscriptions.

The places in Maharashtra which assumed great importance in Buddhist times owing to their rock-cut architecture are Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora, Ajanta, Bedsa, Nasik, Karle, Kanheri and Ellora (Verūḷa).

Bhaja

The earliest caitya hall, dating from the second century B.C., is found at Bhaja. The inward slope of the pillars, the wooden roof girders and the free use of timber show that this hall was an imitation of a wooden prototype. The actual use of wood in rock-cut architecture is a special feature of the earlier period. The octagonal pillars near the walls are plain. Traces of paintings on the pillars and figures of the Buddha attended by chauri-bearers are still discernible. Sculptures of Sūrya and royal personages riding on elephants can also be found.

Kondane

The Buddhist caves at Kondane, which is seven miles from Karjat, are of slightly later date than those at Bhaja. The facade pillars are in stone instead of wood. The caitya hall is one of the earliest and is an important landmark in the development of rock-cut architecture.

Pitalkhora

In the Buddhist caves at Pitalkhora, seven painted inscriptions are found which record the names of Buddhist monks who bore the cost of the frescoes.



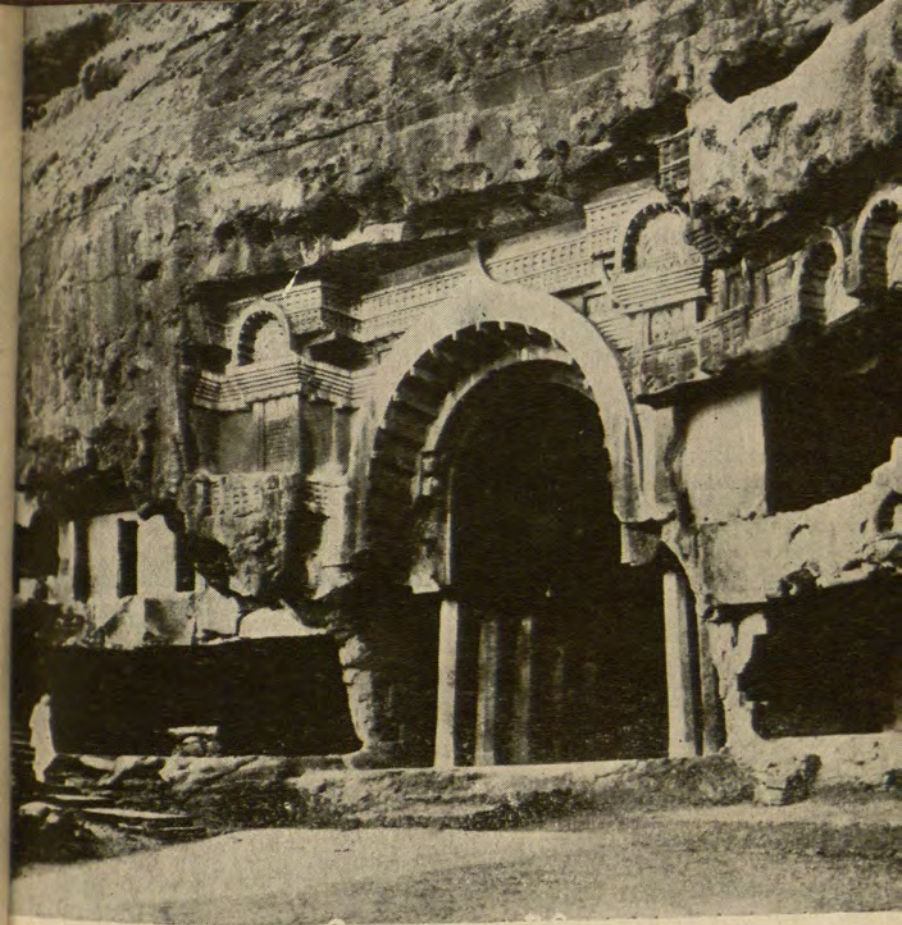
Ajanta

There are no fewer than twenty-nine caves of various sizes at Ajanta. They are cut in the hard volcanic rock, some of them going as far as 100' into the rock, which is naturally considered a remarkable architectural achievement. Cave No. 1 is the finest vihāra in India. The caitya hall in Cave No. 10 measures 100' × 40' × 33' and its stūpa has a double tier at the base and a slightly elongated dome. Cave No. 26 contains a gigantic sculpture of the Buddha, considered to be one of the finest in the whole of India. However, Ajanta is more famous for its beautiful paintings than for its architecture or for the carved sculptures in the caves. The walls, the ceilings, and the pillars of nearly all the caves were once decorated with paintings, remains of which are found only in thirteen caves. They depict chiefly scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātakas, but there are many paintings of a secular nature too. The Court life of the period and scenes of everyday life are graphically depicted in the frescoes. Indian painting reached its finest development in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and the best can be seen at Ajanta. Everything is drawn with grace and mastery and delicately modelled. As an artist has said, the more one contemplates the Ajanta frescoes the more one appreciates the subtle relationship that exists between the groups of figures.

The caitya hall at Bedsa, which is four miles south-east of the railway station of Kamshet, measures $45\frac{1}{2}' \times 21'$. The base of the column is vase shaped and its capital is surmounted by pairs of men and animals seated on kneeling horses and elephants. Traces of paintings can also be seen on the pillars in the stūpa.

Nasik

There is a group of twenty-three caves, dating from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D. at Nasik. Some of these were altered and adapted by the Mahāyāna Buddhists between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.



Facade of Chaitya Hall, Bhaja, Western India, 2nd century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)



Mahakapi Jataka. Stone, Śunga, Bhārhut, 2nd century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta (Photo by Publications Division)



Cave No. 3, called Gautamīputra Vihāra, is large, having six pillars with carvings of elephants, bulls and horses on the capital. Cave No. 10 is called the Nahapāna vihāra. The caitya halls at Nasik and Junnar are more or less of the same type. The Nasik caves are especially important for the interesting and beautiful inscriptions of Nahapāna, Gautamīputra and Śrīyajña Śātakarṇi.

Junnar

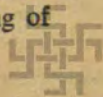
There are as many as 130 caves carved in five separate groups within a radius of four miles from Junnar. Hence the town can be said to be the largest monastic establishment in western India. The frequency and smallness of the cells indicate that they belong to an early period.

Karle

The caitya hall at Karle is of the same general pattern as that at Bhaja. In size and splendour, however, it is one of the most magnificent monuments in India. In fact, it is described, in one of the ancient inscriptions found at the place, as the most excellent rock mansion in Jambudvīpa. It was excavated by Bhūtapāla, a merchant of Vaijayanti. Fortunately, it is also among the best preserved. It measures $124' \times 46\frac{1}{2}'$ and the vaulted roof rises to a height of 45'. It has a row of fifteen monolithic pillars on each side with kalaśa bases and bell-shaped capitals surmounted by kneeling elephants, and horses with men and women riders. Its two-storeyed facade has an enormous sun-window. The caitya hall dates from the close of the first century B.C.

Kanheri

There are more than one hundred caves at Kanheri which was also a large monastic establishment. From a number of inscriptions found here, dating from the second century A.D. to modern times, a more or less connected history of the place can be reconstructed. The beginning of



the caves can be attributed to the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi about 180 A.D. Many excavations and sculptures were added from time to time. The introduction of the Buddha image in the establishment is shown by a fourth century inscription recording the dedication of a Buddha image by a certain Buddhaghoṣa. The Śīlāhār rulers of Puri, who were feudatories of the Raṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns, took a special interest in the Buddhist establishment at Kanheri and made liberal donations to it as recorded in their copper-plate grants dated S. 765, 775 and 799. Inscriptions of S. 913, 921 and 931 further show that the Buddhist monks still continued to occupy the caves. A modern Japanese inscription of a Buddhist pilgrim of the Nichiren sect engraved on the walls of Cave No. 66 testifies to the continued importance of the caves even in modern times.

Some inscriptions found in Kanheri incidentally tell us of the Buddhist vihāras situated at Kalyan and near Paithan, of which we know nothing from other sources. At Ellora (Verūḷa) can be found the most wonderful caves in the world, mountains cut into colossal sanctuaries. Of the thirty-four caves, the twelve to the south are Buddhist while the remaining are Brahmanical or Jaina. The Buddhist caves are the earliest, dating from 450 to 650 A.D. The entrance to the hall lies through a large open court. The caitya hall, which is called the Viśvakarmā Cave, measures forty-eight square feet. A huge image of the Buddha flanked by attendants and flying figures is seated on a lion throne in a projecting arch of the stūpa. There are a number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images. Two of the monasteries with wide courtyards in front are three-storeyed and rise to a height of 50'. These impressive structures and their execution show remarkable ingenuity.

Besides these, there are many other places of Buddhist interest, each with a number of excavations, some of them as old as any in western India. A number of these also contain inscriptions of interest.



Other important sites

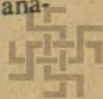
One of the sites of these caves is Kuḍā on the shore of the Rajapuri creek, forty-five miles south of Bombay. Another is Mahad on the Sāvitrī river, 28 miles south-east of Kuḍā. At Karhad in the Satara district, there is an extensive series of sixty caves on the spur of the Agāśiva hill. The cells here are small, the large halls are devoid of pillars, and there is complete absence of sculpture. There is another series at Shelārwaḍi. Two women disciples of Thera Bhadanta Śīha are said to have had the caitya hall at this place excavated and one of the caves was donated by the wife of a ploughman. At Koṇḍivte, three miles from Jogeshwari, there is a group of nineteen caves. In the Sholapur district at Ter (ancient Tagara) there is a structural caitya hall which was built in the eighth century A.D. and later transformed into a Brahmanical temple. In 1188 A.D. the Śilāhār king, Gaṇḍarāditya, built a Buddha temple at Kolhapur on the bank of a tank called Gaṇḍasāgara.

Goa

That Buddhism flourished in and around Goa, farther south, in the sixth century A.D. is proved by the discovery of the Hire-Guṭṭi (north Kanara district) plates which record an endowment to a Buddhist vihāra by the Bhoja king, Aśankita of Goa. Similarly, the discovery of Buddhist statues of a later date in the village of Mushir in the Goa district shows that Buddhism continued to flourish for a considerable period. Buddhist monks in Goa at the time of the Kadamba king, Jayakeśin, are referred to in the Dvyāśraya-kāvya of the twelfth century.

Karnatak

Buddhism began to exercise its influence in Karnatak from the time of Aśoka, whose edicts at Siddhapur and in the neighbourhood are found in the province. His missionaries carried the message all over the land, as a result of which many Buddhist monasteries were built at Vana-



vāsi at the time of the Śātavāhanas. Later, however, probably owing to the stronger influence of Jainism and Brahmanism, the influence of Buddhism declined. A place named Ḍambaḷ in the Dharwar district seems to have become important as a Buddhist centre in the 11th century A.D., as seen from an inscription of S. 1017 (1095 A.D.), according to which a temple of the Buddhist deity, Tārā, and a Buddhist vihāra were built at the place by the sixteen settis (Śreṣṭhins or merchants) of Ḍambaḷ during the reign of Lakṣmīdevī, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, over the district of eighteen agrāhāras. It is believed that another temple of Tārā was built at the same place by Setṭi Saṅgaramaya of Lokkiḡṇḍi.

C. IN SOUTHERN INDIA

If a number of places in Maharashtra attained great importance in Buddhist times on account of their wonderful rock-cut architecture, there were certain places in Andhra which were famous for their equally magnificent Buddhist stūpas. Buddhism was well established in Andhra in the time of Aśoka, if not earlier, owing to its situation midway between Magadha, the home of Buddhism, and Ceylon which had already become a stronghold of Buddhism and with which Andhra had seaborne trade through its big river ports. As the Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes, their wealth was utilized to raise magnificent stūpas.

Such stūpas were built at several places in the region between the lower valleys of the Krishna, and the Godavari. A number of Buddhist sites from Śālihundun in the north to Chinganjam in the south have been discovered, of which the following are the most important since they possess magnificent stūpas.

The stūpas at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district and at Bhāṭṭiprolu, Jagayyapeṭā, Gusiwāḍa and Ghaṇṭśāla in the Krishna district were built between





Caitya Hall. Cave 19, Ajanta, c. 6th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)





The Buddha. Bronze, Nalanda, 9th century A.D.

Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. These consisted of brick-built hemispherical domes and were characterized by rectangular projections from the base of the dome at the four cardinal points. They were finished with plastic grace, painted white, and embellished at the base with sculptured white marble panels richly carved in low relief. The technical skill and artistic excellence of the Andhra craftsmen are best seen in the construction of the stūpas and especially in the manufacture of small caskets of crystal and other jewellery.

The earliest Buddhist monument in the region is the Bhaṭṭiprolu stūpa built in the second century B.C., probably by a Buddhist missionary during the time of a local king named Kubiraka. The claim that it was a mahāstūpa enshrining the mortal remains of the Buddha is justified by the discovery of a bone relic inside a crystal casket together with flowers made of gold and pearls.

Amarāvati

Amarāvati, which is 16 miles west of Guntur, is the most important Buddhist site in Andhra. The stūpa at this place is the largest and most famous. It was first begun as early as the second century B.C. and was enlarged between 150 and 200 A.D. by the efforts of Nāgārjuna. Its dome measures 162' and has a height of 95'. The width of the pradakṣiṇāpatha is 15', and the railing surrounding it 14' high. This stūpa is larger than the Sanchi stūpa which is 120' wide and 54' high.

The beautiful railings depict scenes from the Buddha's life. The relief medallions, beautifully balanced in composition, are among the greatest works of art in India. The Amarāvati stūpa could well vie in artistic beauty and grandeur with the Sanchi and Bhārhut stūpas in the North. Like the Mathura and Gandhāra schools of sculpture, the Amarāvati school enjoyed great influence. Its products were carried to Ceylon and South-East Asia and had a marked effect on the local styles.



Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

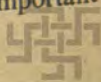
Nothing was known of this great stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or the Hill of Nāgārjuna before it was discovered twenty-five years ago. It is situated on the south bank of the river Krishna in the Guntur district. It was also a mahāstūpa, enshrining the mortal remains of the Buddha, and was probably built in the time of Aśoka. It was renovated with additions by Śāntisirī and other ladies of the local Ikṣvāku royal family, to whom goes the credit of making Buddhism popular in Andhra in the third century A.D. Now it is in ruins which are greater than those at Amarāvati. Hundreds of remarkable sculptures executed in the Amarāvati style have been found. From the inscriptions on the Āyāga pillars, it is evident that Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the ancient city of Vijayapurī, was of great importance as a centre of Buddhism and enjoyed international fame. Several monasteries were built at this place for the residence of Buddhist monks of different schools coming from different countries like Ceylon, Kashmir, Gandhāra, and China.

The people of Andhra traded in and outside the country and had close contacts with the Roman world of the time. This is proved by the discovery of inscriptions, of sculptures depicting a bearded soldier wearing a tunic, and trousers, and of various other objects of Roman origin.

In Andhra, Guṇṭapallī, 28 miles north of Ellore railway station, and Śaṅkaran, a mile east of Anakapalla, are important for their rock-cut architecture. Other places in the neighbourhood appear to have assumed significance in Buddhist times, as the presence of stūpas and other antiquities testifies. The most notable among these are Goli, Chezarlā, Gummati, Bezwada, Garikapaḍu, Uraiyr, Kuvain, Chinve, and Vidyādharpur.

Nāgapaṭṭam

Nāgapaṭṭam, near Madras on the East Coast, had a Buddhist settlement in the time of the Coḷas. An important



copper-plate inscription of the 11th century A.D. states that the Coḷa King, Rājarāja, gave the village of Anaimaṅgaḷam for the maintenance of a shrine of the Buddha in the Cūḷāmaṇivarma Vihāra which the Śailendra king, Māra-vijayottung Varman of Śrī-vijaya and Kaṭāha of Indonesia, had erected at Nāgaṭṭam. In the epilogue of his commentary on the Netṭi-pakaraṇa, Dhammapāla mentions this place and the Dharmāsoka Vihāra in it, where he composed this commentary.

Śrīmūlavāsam

Śrīmūlavāsam, on the West Coast, had Buddhist settlements in the time of a ruler bearing the same name. In the great temple at Tanjore scenes from the life of the Buddha are represented in decorative panels.

Kāñcī

Kāñcī, with its Rājavihāra and its hundred monasteries, was a famous stronghold of Buddhism in the South. Five Buddha images have been discovered near this town.

The famous Pali commentator, Buddhaghosa, has mentioned in his commentary (the Manorathapūraṇī) that he wrote it at the request of the Venerable Jotipāla who was staying with him at Kāñcīpura. Yuan Chwang also mentions a certain Dharmapāla from Kāñcī as being a great master at Nalanda. In Korea, an inscription in verse has been discovered.¹ In a preface to it, written by Li Se in 1378 A.D., there is an account of the life and travels of an Indian monk called Dhyānabhadra. This account tells us that this monk was the son of a king of Magadha and a princess from Kāñcī and that when he visited Kāñcī he heard a sermon given by a Buddhist preacher on the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra. Clearly, this place was a recognized centre of Buddhism as late as the 14th century A.D.

1. Arthur Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India', in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Vol. I (1931-32), pp. 355-376.



CHAPTER XIII

Later Modifications of Buddhism

APPROACH TO HINDUISM

Introductory

The fact that the relation between the Buddha and his contemporary Brāhmaṇas was very cordial has been well demonstrated by Mrs. Rhys Davids. As she has rightly pointed out, the Buddha never contradicted the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the immanence of the Brahman in each individual. What he denied, however, was the existence of the material soul which certain passages in the Upaniṣads seem to suggest. It would therefore not be an exaggeration to say with Mrs. Rhys Davids that what the Buddha preached was in agreement with the central religious tenets or principles of immanence in the Brahmanism of the day.¹ The Brāhmaṇas kept the knowledge of the Brahman a jealously guarded secret and the exclusive property of the privileged Aryans, the first three classes of men, or the Traivarnika.

The Buddha raised his voice openly against this attitude of the Brāhmaṇas. He proclaimed that in the domain of the true and ultimate knowledge no distinction of class, clan or social status counted, and that it was open to all.² It will therefore not be far from the truth to say that originally Buddhism was mainly concerned with the reformation or popularization, as Prof. Max Müller says, of the fourth stage in the scheme of Brahmanic life, viz., true Brahmanism.

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 274-86.

2. *Dīgha*, I, p. 99.



However, we should not forget what the Buddha's invaluable and positive contribution to Indian thought was. In the scheme of his religious order, he laid the greatest stress on the fact that one should always train one's mind and body in strict accordance with certain ethical standards called śīla. In the Upaniṣads we find little about ethics. Indeed, the ethics that we come across in some of the passages is overshadowed by overstressed enquiries about the soul and the Brahman and allied subjects. The Buddha thought such enquiries were of little value in our endeavour to bring our day to day sufferings to an end. Subsequently, for the Brahmanical religion, sages like Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba standardized the ethical rules of conduct to be observed by orthodox recluses.¹

Vedic Ritualism

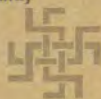
Vedic ritualism found no favour with the Buddha. He condemned it as unmeritorious and futile, for it entailed the brutal slaughter of animals, hardship for the labourers and lavish waste.

What sacrifice then was more eminent and of greater merit than the Vedic sacrifices? To this question, the Buddha replied that the giving of alms to virtuous ascetics came first, but still greater was the regular giving of alms to the four quarters. More virtuous than this was taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Order. Next in importance came the adherence with well-disposed mind to the Learner's Sentences (Śikṣāpada). To renounce the world, join the Buddha's Order and gain insight into the truth², however, connoted the highest merit of all. On another occasion the Buddha elucidated his conception of a perfect sacrifice (yajña) in the following terms³: To feel happy

1. Gautama's date 500 B.C. (G. Bühler, S.B.E. II), Baudhāyana 400 B.C., Āpastamba 300 B.C.

2. Kūṭadanta-sutta, Dīgha I, 144-47; E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 176 and Gītā, IV, 28,32,33.

3. Aṅguttara, III, 337.



before giving, after giving and in the moment of giving is to achieve perfection in the yajña, *i.e.*, offering. The field of offering becomes perfect when the person who receives alms is freed from the sins of desire, anger and delusion. The wise, performing this yajña, will be born in the happiest of worlds.

The reaction against the Vedic rites began early in the Upaniṣadic period and reached its acme with the Sāṅkhya school of thought. These rites were criticized on three grounds: (1) they were impure, because they caused the slaughter of so many animals, (2) they were perishable, and (3) they fostered feelings of superiority and inferiority.¹ The Bhagavadgītā also speaks of the futility of sacrificial rites on the ground of their perishability.² It may here be observed that the Vedic sacrifices in northern India were given up on account of many similar movements which affected Vedic ritualism adversely although their occasional performance occurs even today in southern India.

Bhagavadgītā and the Bhakti Movement

The Bhagavadgītā and the Bhakti movement, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, owe their origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upaniṣads and culminated in the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in eastern India and arose about the same time as the latter.³ Buddhism and Jainism soon prevailed in the land on account of their cosmopolitan tendencies. The protagonists of the theistic religion therefore thought it wise to propagate their religion among the masses including the non-Aryans (śūdras). The religious systems in those days were, by and large, atheistic, and the Indian mind tended to indulge in moral discussion and in moral exaltation unconnected with theistic faith as Buddhism and other systems clearly show. Consequently the ideas represented by the Bhagavadgītā were needed to

1. Sāṅkhya-kārikā, verse 2.

2. Chapter IX, verse 21.

3. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 9.



counteract these tendencies. The Upaniṣads are, of course, full of theistic ideas, but they are so scattered that they had to be organized into a system of redemption in order to be brought within the comprehension of the masses.¹

The Bhagavadgītā was an epoch-making literary document. It proved a landmark in the history of Indian religious thought in that it gave new direction to religious speculation. The fundamental teachings of the Gītā are concerned mainly with the philosophy of action and the cult of devotion to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Clearly, the author of the Gītā felt it necessary to inculcate in the people a sense of duty and devotion because the air was already contaminated with speculations on inaction and atheism. There were some philosophers, for instance, Makkhali Gosāla, who condemned action as leading to evil. We find in the Upaniṣads also some sayings which betray their antipathy to action (karma).² So the Buddha took up the challenge on behalf of the Śramaṇas, non-Vedic thinkers, and stressed the value of action in his scheme of Śīlas, or moral codes, but he remained silent on the theistic problem. The Bhagavadgītā upheld its utility on behalf of orthodox theologians, saying that its good or bad consequences might be averted provided the action were carried out in a spirit of devotion and detachment.³

The Gītā has been declared a Yogaśāstra, a treatise on Yoga, and its preacher Yogeśvara, the lord of Yoga. Yoga, as expounded in the Gītā, is not yet a systematized philosophy. The term stands for a variety of meanings. Sometimes it signifies mental abstraction⁴, sometimes mental balance⁵, on other occasions a mental resolve whereby everything is dedicated to God⁶. Yoga in the sense of a

1. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 29.

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4,22.

3. Chapter II, 57; IX, 26,27, etc.

4. IV, 20,34.

5. II, 48, VI, 32,33.

6. II, 39, XVIII, 57.



mental resolve is also common to Buddhist literature.¹ It connotes "concentration", and "devotion", the keynote of the Gītā, which is also found in the Pali Canon.² The central theme of the Gītā is that Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa stands before Arjuna as the human incarnation of the supreme Godhead and proclaims his readiness to save whosoever surrenders heart and soul to him while engaged in worldly pursuits. This message of devotion had a far-reaching and permanent effect on Hindu society and social organization. It provided equal opportunities for everybody, irrespective of caste and sex, to lead a religious life and win salvation, a fact which went a long way in cementing the unity of all within the Hindu fold.

The present writer is inclined to place the age of the Gītā in the post-Buddha period as it refers to Buddhist ideas. (1) The instructions regarding proper food, timely sleep and timely waking³ undoubtedly refer to some of the most important Buddhist teachings born of the Buddha's own personal experiences. (2) The opinion referred to in the lines "some wise men say that the wrongful action is to be abandoned"⁴ is exactly what the Buddha held. The Aṅguttara, for example, says that the Buddha confessed himself to be an advocate of inaction in the sense that he argued in favour of abandoning wrongful act.⁵ (3) The fourfold food, "annaṃ caturvidhāṃ" mentioned in verse XV, 14, corresponds to that of Buddhist literature.⁶ And it is hard to believe that the original Mahābhārata could have consisted of the whole of the Bhagavadgītā. None the less, it is possible that the Gītā was composed in Pāṇini's time, 500—450 B.C., for the grammarian alludes definitely to Bhakti and the Bhāgavata religion. Perhaps,

1. Saṃyutta, V, 414-20, 442-62. Note Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, I, 8, 23, where Yoga stands for some golden means, Akrodha, etc.

2. Majjhima, I, 472; Pali Dictionary (PTS).

3. VI, 16-17.

4. XVIII, 3: *Tyājyṃ doṣavad ity eke karma prāhur manīṣiṇaḥ*.

5. Aṅguttara, I, 62, IV, 183.

6. Cf. Pali: Cattāro ahārā.



the most indisputable evidence in favour of placing Pāṇini in the post-Buddha period is his references to Maskari-parivrājaka, who was in all probability Makkhali Gosāla, the reputed religious leader of the Ājīvika sect.¹

Varṇas, Āśramas, and the Buddhist Community

The division of the social order of the Hindus into four varṇas has come down from the Vedic period. This order, according to ancient sages, is based on birth and not rank. The Buddha criticized it in his discourses on several occasions. We must not conclude from this, however, that he wanted to destroy the social order of the day.² On the contrary, he believed in a social order which accorded the first rank in the realm of secular affairs to the warrior. The claim for this social order finds favour only once in Brahmanical literature, in Gautama's Dharmasūtra (VIII, 1). The Buddha's objection to the order upheld by the Brāhmaṇas arose from his deep-rooted antipathy towards the Brāhmaṇas' claim that they had monopoly over spiritual betterment and salvation.³ The Buddha was not the first to want to abolish class distinctions in respect of pravrajyā or renunciation; before him there were other religious orders, too, which admitted members of all classes to their fold.⁴

Of the four stages of life, the first two, viz., studentship and householdership were known from the period of the Vedas. The other two āśramas, i.e., forest life and complete renunciation were probably introduced during the period of the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, although no sharp line of distinction existed between the two. The last stage

1. Cf. V. S. Agrawala, Pāṇini, etc., pp. 358-60. R. G. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that it was composed not later than the beginning of the 4th century B.C. S. Radhakrishnan pleads for 500 B.C. (*Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 524). Prof. Belvalker expressed in a personal talk to the present writer that he would be inclined to assign to it a date prior to the Buddha.

2. E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 128.

3. Cf. Dīgha, I, No. 3; Majjhima, No. 90, pp. 128-30.

4. Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 154.



called pravrajyā and muni is clearly explained in Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.¹ Some proof of the Āśrama theory can also be found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.² The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad makes a distinction between sramaṇa, i.e., sanyāsin and tāpasa or forest-dweller.³ The same Upaniṣad defines muni as "one who realizes the truth about the soul".⁴ This definition happily supports Āpastamba's designation of that stage as mauna. The muni of the Vedic period, according to Macdonell and Keith, seems to be "more of a medicine man".⁵ P. T. Srinavasa Iyengar, however, is of the opinion that the first stage, Brahmacarya, and the last, i.e., that of Sanyāsin called muni, were invented in the age of the hymns.⁶ It is therefore evident that though the names of the āśramas are not found in the Vedic period, one can amply demonstrate the life of the āśramins.⁷

It is highly significant that ancient sages like Baudhāyana and Āpastamba do not speak highly of the saṇyāsa stage, because they considered it alien to their creed. This is obvious from Baudhāyana's observation that the āśramas called pravrajyā, etc., were introduced by an Asura called Kapila, the son of Prahlāda, who was not on good terms with the gods.⁸ Again, Baudhāyana refutes the jñānavāda, salvation by knowledge, by quoting passages from well-known Vedic sources.⁹ Gautama and Āpastamba both hold that the life of the householder is superior to all other stages.¹⁰ So the authors of the Dharmasūtras, to speak in philosophical terms, were advocates of a synthesis between Jñāna and Karma as a means of salvation. From this it has been

1. III, 5,1; IV, 4,22.

2. II, 23,1.

3. IV, 3,22.

4. IV, 4,22; *Etam eva viditvā munir bhavati.*

5. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects.*

6. *Life in Ancient India.*

7. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 236.

8. Dharmasūtra, II, 6,30.

9. *Ibid.*, II, 6,33-36.

10. Gautama, III, 36; Āpastamba, II, 23,24.



deduced that the two stages, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa, originated among non-Brāhmaṇa thinkers and were subsequently incorporated with the Āśramic theory of the Brāhmaṇas. In spite of their predilections for the life of the householder, Gautama and other sages never hesitated to describe in elaborate detail the rules of conduct required of hermits.¹ We may therefore venture to say with Max Müller that the three or four stages of life were already well known before the rise of Buddhism,² though probably not in rigid form.

As already stated, when the Buddha appeared on the scene he discovered to his dismay that the spiritual and intellectual life of the community was under the sway of a small number of Brāhmaṇas. This made him undertake the life-long mission of throwing open to all communities the privilege of renunciation or pravrajyā. He invited people to join his religious order, irrespective of whether or not they underwent preliminary conditions such as upaniyana, initiation in Vedic studies, as prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas, thereby widening the scope of the religious life called Brahmacarya. According to Brahmanical traditions one can take to the life of renunciation only after being a householder or a forest-dweller. A student of the Vedas cannot enter it directly, although he may choose to be a devout bachelor and remain for life with his teacher, Naiṣṭhika.³ The Buddha rebelled against all such restrictions and limitations. For him no one needed to go through such preliminaries, and any one who had faith in his ideal of the Dharma was entitled to admission into his Order. There is a tradition among the Brāhmaṇas also that an individual can take to renunciation when he considers himself fit for it.⁴ It is

1. Gautama, III, 2-26; Baudhāyana, II, 6, 15-10, 70; Āpastamba, II, 21, 1-23, 5.

2. *Six Systems*, p. 236; Richard Fick says that the Vānaprastha stage is well known to Brāhmaṇas and was introduced into the life of the Buddhist Order; see *Social Organisation*, etc., Eng. trans. p. 61. The Vānaprastha is known to the Aṅguttara, III, 219.

3. Chāndogya, II, 23, 1.

4. See Haradatta's Commentary on Āpastamba, Dhar. II, 21, 8.



possible that this tradition was introduced under Buddhist influence. It is to be noted, however, that the Buddha made no distinction whatsoever between the holy life of Brahmacharya, undertaken by a Vedic student after finishing his studies, and that undertaken by a householder.¹

The Buddha and his mission were concerned primarily with only one stage of life, pravrajyā. There were, of course, upāsakas to support his community of monks, but they did not originally belong to the Order. The formation of a lay community need not be a pre-condition for the formation of a body of recluses. The householders in ancient India welcomed every ascetic wanting alms and clothing, hence the Buddhist monks had no difficulty in meeting their requirements. In the lay world, there was no sharp distinction between the Buddha's regular upāsaka and the non-upāsaka. The lay disciple, in order to become one, did not have to alter his status in the social order; all that he was required to do was to take refuge in the Buddha. Almost all the brāhmaṇas who spoke to the Buddha became his upāsakas. This did not mean that their social rank changed thereby or that they gave up their Brahmanical traditions and customs.² In other words, there was no incongruity in one's becoming an upāsaka and at the same time maintaining one's customary family duties, religious and social, provided they did not offend the obligatory rules, non-killing, etc. This state of affairs could be corroborated by the prevalent customs in Buddhist countries in the olden days. In Burma, for example, all the Court rituals of the Pagan dynasty were deeply tinged with Brahmanical religious practices and the gods Nārāyaṇa, Ganeśa and Brahmā were held in honour.³

The Buddhist lay community, as a class, was created only a hundred years after the passing of the Buddha, probably by the Mahāsaṅghikas. The fundamental conditions to be fulfilled by a lay disciple were that he had to (1) take

1. Aṅguttara III, pp. 223-30.

2. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 382-3, 162, n. 1.

3. N. R. Roy, *Buddhism in Burma*, p. 148.



refuge in the three gems of Buddhism, (2) take five moral vows that were binding on the upāsakas, and (3) listen to the preaching on the Uposatha days on which eight moral vows were observed.¹ The lay disciple could enter the Order whenever he wished. He was at liberty to return to secular life as soon as he felt that he was unsuited to monastic life. The Buddha never made it obligatory for the members of the Order to embrace the mendicant's life for ever as we find in the Āśramic system of the Brāhmaṇas.

Mahāyānism and the Bhakti Cult

Buddhism, as appears from the Pali Nikāyas, is a system founded entirely on ethical principles. It has no room for theism or a theistic way of life. In other words, the Buddha never entertained the idea of God as ruling over the destiny of mankind. Nor did he think much of prayer and worship (āyācanā, prārthana) as conceived by the Brāhmaṇas.² Man's salvation, according to him, lay not in prayer and worship but in his own right efforts and wisdom. This aspect of the Buddha's teaching may be called salvation through works.³

When, however, we examine Buddhist literature three or four centuries later we find that Buddhism had assumed a form which had developed features quite alien to its original concepts. Mahāyāna Buddhism turned the human Buddha, Śākyamuni, into an eternal and supreme deity presiding over the world, ready to grant boons to his devotees. The historical Buddha is only an emanation sent down by the Ādibuddha to preach the Dharma and save mankind from its ills. People now began to pray and worship him in order to please him so that he might guide them to salvation. Buddhism thus became a Buddha cult in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Gaṇḍavyūha and other Mahāyāna sūtras. Now salvation depended on devotion and fervent prayer. In the original Buddhism the Buddha nowhere taught that the wor-

1. N. Dutt, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, pp. 668 ff.

2. Dīgha, I, 244-45 ; Saṃyutta, IV, 312-14.

3. McGovern, *Mahāyāna*, p. 103.



ship of his person would be useful in any way. What he advised his disciples on the eve of his passing was that they should act and behave strictly in accord with the Dharma and ethical principles and that such conduct would be more worthy of him than ostentatious adoration.¹ It may therefore be assumed that the evolution of the original atheistic Buddhism into theistic Mahāyānism was a result of the religious fervour of its adherents under the dominating influence of theistic Hinduism through the centuries.² Mahāyāna became popular and powerful owing to its devotional aspect and perhaps to its tendency to follow many Hindu and possibly Persian ideas, and it succeeded in greatly overshadowing its rival, Hīnayānism, although the latter continued to exist as long as Buddhism remained in India.³

Another important feature to be noticed in Mahāyāna is that its adherents, the Bodhisattvas, are enjoined to perform good deeds and pass the merit earned thereby on to all sentient beings in order to awaken their Bodhi hearts. The Hindu doctrine of the dedication of action to God as taught by the Gītā supplies an obvious parallelism. We come across a similar theory prevalent among the Roman Catholic Christians which is known as the doctrine of supererogatory acts.⁴ Some people believe that the Buddhist practice of dedicating merit to others has influenced the Gītā's teaching that action should be dedicated to God, but how the Buddhist practice of dedicating merit came into vogue is obscure. There is no mention of this practice in the Nikāyas. It is likely that when the idea of service to others (*parārthatva*) was emphasized in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the practice was introduced as a token of the spirit of self-abnegation and detachment. The spirit of self-surrender is also a natural

1. *Dīgha*, II, 138 ; *Therīgāthā*, verse 161.

2. R. Kimura, *Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*, etc., p. 43; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 583.

3. McGovern, *Mahāyāna*, p. 183.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.



corollary of the Vāsudeva-bhakti cult which dates back at least to 400 B.C.¹

Advaitism

Mahāyāna Buddhism gave rise to two main schools of philosophy, viz., the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra. The Mādhyama philosophy was systematized by Nāgārjuna, one of the greatest thinkers of India. The Buddha followed a moderate path avoiding the two extremes—indulgence in sensual pleasures and the habitual practice of self-mortification. When an attempt was made to interpret and discover the true import of that path, Nāgārjuna came forward with his own interpretation and called it Mādhyamika, or moderate. The central idea in his philosophy is prajñā, wisdom, or ultimate knowledge derived from an understanding of the nature of things in their true perspective, viz., śūnyatā. Śūnyatā for him is a synonym for “dependent origination”. So the dictum: “everything is void” (*sarvaṃ śūnyaṃ*) must be taken to mean that everything has a dependent origination and is hence non-substantial (*niḥsvabhāva*). Here “everything” stands for all things, dharmas internal and external. So everything for him is devoid of any substantiality and becomes illusory. When this is realized the dharmadhātu, or the monistic cosmic element, becomes manifest.

Another fundamental principle in his philosophy is Ajātivāda, the non-origination theory. Things declared non-substantial, śūnya, also bring home to us by implication the idea that they are unoriginated and undestroyed. Nāgārjuna takes great pains to expound the non-origination theory in his works, such as the Mādhyamika-śāstra. His method of exposition and logic were so convincing that even those who belonged to the opposite camp were tempted to adapt them to their own theories.

To quote one example, Gauḍapāda, a great exponent of Advaitism, was influenced considerably by Nāgārjuna's

1. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 13.



method of argument. The external world, for both the Mādhyamikas and Advaitins, is unreal. The arguments advanced by Nāgārjuna were also adopted by Gauḍapāda in so far as they supported his propositions. The formulation of the non-origination theory by Nāgārjuna is a logical corollary of his doctrine of relativity (śūnyatā). The non-origination theory, as applied to the phenomenal world, was unknown in Advaitism before Gauḍapāda. The Upaniṣads speak several times of the Ātman and Brahman as unborn (aja), imperishable (avyaya) and eternal (nitya), but nowhere do they speak thus of the external world. Nor do we find anybody before Gauḍapāda in the galaxy of Advaitins who pleaded for the non-origination of things in general as did Gauḍapāda in his Kārikās. Therefore there is no denying the fact that Gauḍapāda must have taken the idea from Nāgārjuna and adapted it suitably to provide the Advaita doctrine with a firm foundation.¹

The second important Mahāyāna school is that of the Yogācāras, who were adherents of mentalism. They do not make any undue claims for the non-origination theory notwithstanding the fact that they too hold the world to be unreal. Thus both the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools maintain the māyā-like nature of the world. The Advaitins, likewise, adhere to the Māyā doctrine in order to sustain their belief in Advaitism. A great champion of the Advaita school, Śaṅkarācārya, took this weapon of the illusion theory and used it against his rival realists, the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas, and on this account was called a crypto Buddhist (pracchannabauddha). Śaṅkara's stand in advocating the unreality of the world, however, is logical and independent, for according to the Upaniṣads there existed previously only the Brahman or Ātman, and things other than that were unreal and diseased (ārtam).² Such a declaration makes it obvious that nothing but the Brahman or Ātman is real. The question arises, what was the source

1. More details in *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 668.

2. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III, 5,1.



of Śaṅkara's doctrine of Māyā? The Mahāyāna Buddhists who immediately preceded him are the most likely source. On the other hand, it is possible that it was the Śaṣṭitantra, the renowned treatise on the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is said that the Śaṣṭitantra contains a statement to the effect that "the ultimate and real nature of the guṇas, the Sāṅkhyan forces, is invisible; and what is visible to us is fairly false like an illusory object, māyā." Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the earlier Buddhist Nikāyas make no mention whatever of the Māyā doctrine.

There is another matter in which Buddhist ideas are traceable. The division of action, karma, into physical, vocal and mental, is universal. A further division of each of the above varies with each school of thought. The Buddhists classify physical and mental acts into three and vocal into four. The three physical acts are killing, stealing and adultery; the four vocal acts are lying (mṛṣāvāda), malicious speech (piśunavācā), harsh speech (paruṣavācā), frivolous talk (sambhinnapralāpa), while the three mental acts are covetousness (abhidhyā), malevolence (vyāpāda) and wrong view (mithyādṛṣṭi). These acts constitute ten unmeritorious actions and their converse ten meritorious actions. A similar tenfold division of action is also mentioned in the Bhāṣya on the Nyāya-sūtra, (1,1,17) and commented on in the Vārtika of Udyotakara. The Vārtika

1. *Guṇānāṃ paramaṃrupaṃ*, etc., in the Vyāsabhāṣya on the Yoga-sūtra, VI, 13; *Tathā cā nuśāsaṇaṃ*. Vācaspati remarks: *Atra eva Śaṣṭitantrasyā nuśiṣṭiḥ*. The term māyā has two meanings : (1) prakṛti, and (2) illusion or illusory object. Māyā in the former sense is common to the Upaniṣads and the Gītā, and in the latter sense is peculiar to the Buddhists and the Advaitins.

It is to be added here that Vācaspati attributes this verse to Vārṣaganya (Bhāmātī, II, 1,2,3). As J. H. Woods has pointed out (*Yogasūtra*), the verse must have been originally from the Śaṣṭitantra of Pañcaśikha. Moreover, the antiquity of the Vārṣaganya school and their text-book has been proved by E. H. Johnston and it has been reasonably demonstrated that the text-book of the Vārṣaganya school must have been in existence long before the poet Aśvaghoṣa, 50 B.C.—50 A.D. (See *Buddhacarita*, II, Introduction, xlv, lvi.)

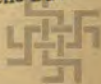


discusses ten meritorious acts as follows: protection (paritrāṇaṃ), service (paricaraṇaṃ), and charity (dānaṃ), which three acts are physical; truthfulness (satyaṃ), benevolence (hitaṃ), kindness (priyaṃ), and Vedic study (svādhyāya) which four are vocal acts; while mercy (dayā), love (sprhā), and faith (śraddhā) are three mental acts. So apparently the Naiyāyikas, although they accepted the tenfold division of the good act, explain it positively and not merely as the reverse of the bad act as the Buddhists do. The Bhagavad-gītā which divides the good acts into three under threefold penance (tapas) says: "Paying reverence to gods, brāhmaṇas, preceptors and men of knowledge; cleanliness, straightforwardness, life as Brahmacārin, and harmlessness, this is called bodily penance. The speech which causes no disgust, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study of the Vedas, this is the vocal penance. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity, self-restraint and purity of heart, this is called mental penance."¹ Thus the Gītā seems not to have been influenced by Buddhist ideas.

When we look into Chapter XII of Manu's Book of Law, we are struck by the close affinity between its ideas and terminology and those of Buddhism. The Book of Law, while explaining the ten varieties of the unmeritorious act, says: "Coveting the property of others, evil thought and vain attachment are the three acts of the mind: harsh words, false speech, malicious talk, and frivolous talk are four acts of the tongue; stealing, killing, and intercourse with another man's wife are three acts of the body." Again in verse 10, the definition of tri-daṇḍin, the mendicant with the triple staff, is given in true Buddhist fashion. The person who has been able to bring under control all the three violences (dandas)², vocal, mental and physical, is called the tri-daṇḍin. This fact is ample evidence of how Buddhism and Buddhist ideas influenced ancient Hindu writers. Such cases of the

1. Gītā, XVII, 14-16; S.B.E., VIII, p. 119.

2. The term 'daṇḍa' in this particular sense is characteristic of the Buddhists and the Jains; See Majjhima I, p. 372 f.



borrowing of ideas can be multiplied.¹

The Buddha as an Avatāra

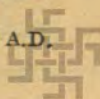
The idea that the Supreme Spirit manifests itself in various forms developed into the conception of one god who could be identified with all the other gods. This led to the theory of Incarnation, Avatāra, which exercised considerable influence on later Hinduism.² An Avatāra is the god incarnated who acts like a human being but has the miraculous powers of the god. Many Avatāras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Harivaṃśa, for instance, the Buddha is not included among the Avatāras, but is considered to be one in the Varāhapurāṇa, the Agni-purāṇa and the later Purāṇas. In any case the Buddha must already have become an Avatāra of Viṣṇu before the time of Gauḍapāda³ (circa 725 A.D.), as can be surmised from the way Gauḍapāda paid homage to his favourite god. In his benedictory verse he uses certain epithets which suggest that the Buddha is the object of his adoration. This can be the only explanation, for Gauḍapāda was a staunch Advaitin.

Once the Buddha had been raised to the status of an Incarnate Being, his followers gave him all the honours due to a Hindu Incarnate God. They began to worship the image of the Buddha for the same reasons as the Hindus, namely, to stimulate feeling and meditation. It is now the generally accepted view that the worship of idols among the Hindus is as old as Pāṇini (500—450 B.C.). But such worship among the Buddhists could not have been as old; for the Buddha never approved of the idea of installing his image for worship save in stūpas or similar monuments. Even in such a late work as the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the Buddha exhorts his disciples only to erect stūpas or caityas,

1. E.g., the verse : *kāmajānāsi temūlam*, etc., is cited in the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, VI, 4, and is also found in the *Udānavarga*, II, 1. There are several other verses that may be traced in the *Mahābhārata* and Buddhist works.

2. *Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 2, 41, 42.

3. According to Principal R. D. Karmarkar, his date is about 500 A.D.



but that the Buddhists in ancient India must have widely worshipped the Buddha's idol becomes clear from the recent finds of images in different parts of India. Today, in Ceylon, Burma, China and other Buddhist countries, people worship the Buddha's image in the same fashion as the Hindus do in India, by offering flowers, food, cloth, incense and prayers. In Ceylon, the last act in the making of an image is the painting of the eyes, a magical rite as in India. In Burma, the image is endowed with life in a ceremony called *prāṇapratīṣṭhā*, the giving of life. In China also, a similar rite is observed by which the image is vivified into godship.¹

Social Reform

From the time the Buddhist upāsakas were recognized as regular members of the Buddhist community, the rigid observance of caste rules was slackened amongst them as among the monks. This change had a far reaching effect on the Hindus. Some liberal thinkers among them, in fact, began to devote their attention to the problem of social reform with a view to improving the mutual relations of the different communities within the Hindu fold. Some began to attack vehemently the rigidities and the oppressiveness of the caste system. A Tamil writer, Kapilar by name (about 1100 A.D.), subjected it to very severe criticism. Vemana, a Telugu writer, and Basava, a Kanarese reformer, both organized movements in opposition to caste observances. The latter especially formed a *Vīraśaiva* sect known as the *Lingayats* which completely disregarded the superiority and the privileged position of the *Brāhmaṇas* in society. The later *Vaiṣṇavites*, in particular the adherents of the *Rāmānuja* sect, realized the need for relaxing caste observances in religious festivals and worship in the temples.² They accepted in their Order people from all communities and

1. See, J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 323.

2. One can witness this fact in the temple of Jagannath at Puri and in other *Vaiṣṇava* temples.

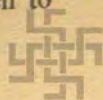


were thus able to spread Vaiṣṇavism among the masses. Similar ideas were advocated by later religious leaders among whom the poet Kabir, Guru Nanak and others figured most prominently. The fire was kept alive until modern reformers started an organized crusade for the complete abolition of caste distinctions. It will now be evident how sagacious and far-sighted the Buddha was in his declaration that religious life, as he saw it, must be open to people of all classes.

Vegetarianism

The Buddha did not feel justified in prescribing a vegetarian diet for his disciples among the monks. What he did was to advise them to avoid eating meat because animals had to be slaughtered only to feed them. Clearly, he could not possibly have insisted that his lay disciples should adhere to a vegetarian diet.

It was Aśoka who proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire the sanctity of animal life and vigorously pursued his sacred mission to induce people to abstain from killing animals wastefully and on religious grounds. This must strongly have influenced the Buddhist community itself which then comprised both lay members and monks. It is likely that after Aśoka some reformed Hindus and Jainas took up the cause and roused sympathy in favour of the Aśokan mission, thereby perhaps finally bringing about the absolute prohibition of meat eating by the Buddhist Church itself as has been recorded in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. Furthermore, three to four centuries later there appeared on the scene King Harṣa Vardhana. No sooner did he ascend the throne than he issued a royal decree to the effect that no one in his dominion was to eat flesh. Another factor which accelerated the adoption of vegetarianism was a later phase of the Bhakti cult preached and practised by the great Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints. They were devout believers in the doctrine that God was in everything and everything in God so that they feared even to



tread the grass violently. The Mahāyāna Buddhist saints also disparaged the cruel habit of slaughtering innocent creatures solely in order to feed one's own body, for they believed that their own lives were worth living only in so far as they fulfilled the wishes of other beings. Vegetarian diet has come to stay in India, largely because of the constant preaching and practice of these saints.

To sum up, in the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan¹, Buddhism has left a permanent mark on the culture of India. Its influence is visible on all sides. The Hindu faith has absorbed the best of its ethics. A new respect for life, kindness to animals, a sense of responsibility and an endeavour after higher life have been brought home to the Indian mind with renewed force. Thanks to Buddhist influences, the Brahmanical systems have shed those parts of their religion which were irreconcilable with humanity and reason.²

PRINCIPLES OF TANTRIC BUDDHISM

Introductory

The general name of Tāntric Buddhism is given to the later aspects of Buddhism in India, *i.e.*, to Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna or Sahajayāna. The importance given by the Yogācāra school to vijñāna and its cultivation gradually led to several esoteric developments in Buddhism. Mantras, dharaṇīs, and diagrams in the form of circles (maṇḍalas) and triangles began to assume increasing importance for a yogin. These mantras were supposed to possess great magical powers and have their counterparts in the parittas in Pali literature, which were supposed to protect the reciters

1. *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 608 f.

2. In a later Hindu work, the following are also prohibited :

- (1) the killing of cows for sacrifices;
- (2) the killing of horses;
- (3) self-torturing austerities;
- (4) the use of flesh in the sacrificial feasts in the name of ancestors;
and
- (5) marrying the widow of a deceased brother.



against all evil. Once the esoteric element was introduced into Buddhism, it was found necessary to restrict that element to a small inner group of "initiates", and in order to maintain continuity it was also necessary to introduce the institution of Master and Pupil (Guru and Cēla).

In order to preserve its secret nature, they also had to use a language of symbolism which only the "initiates" could understand. To the common people the words carried an altogether different meaning. Unfortunately, a language of double interpretation was used by the writers of this school, as a sort of 'shock-therapy'. The apparent meaning of these words gave a shock to common people, but to the "initiates" they carried an altogether different meaning. The popular mind took these words at their face value and thus a great misunderstanding has arisen about the followers of the Tāntric school and their practices.

Another feature of this later form of Buddhism is that it believed in a large number of gods and goddesses by whose favours the devotees were expected to attain siddhi or perfection. The Buddha is often represented as sitting in the company of a large number of goddesses.

Allied to this branch of esoteric Buddhism, there is a still later phase of Vajrayāna which, apart from the original principles on which the purer or brighter side was based, became mixed up with popular cults and assumed, among the lower classes of society, a darker and objectionable form. Corrupt practices like the use of five ma-kāras, *i.e.*, words beginning with the letter 'ma', such as madya (wine), māṃsa (flesh), matsya (fish), mudrā (woman) and maithuna (sexual intercourse), were encouraged and practised even by men who were supposed to be leading a religious life. In Vajrayāna works like the Śrī-samāja (also called the Guhya-samāja), the Sādhana-mālā, the Jñāna-siddhi, etc., we find that the violation of those very five rules, which formed the basis of Buddhist Discipline, is recommended. For instance, in the Guhya-samāja¹, murder, falsehood, theft and intercourse with

1. p. 120.



women are recommended. Can the Buddha ever be imagined to have sanctioned such things?

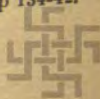
Nevertheless, this cult gained very wide currency in the eastern parts of India. Vikramaśīlā was a centre of Tāntric learning which gradually spread to Bengal, Assam and Orissa.¹ All sane people revolted against these corrupt practices which contributed in no small measure to the decline of Buddhism. (General Editor.)

Among all the aspects of Buddhism, its Tāntric teachings have until now been the most neglected and misunderstood. The Tantras against which accusations have been hurled originated mostly from the decadent forms of late Hindu tradition and the malpractices which they gave rise to among the ignorant. The prejudice, which in this way grew against everything Tāntric, was so strong that even scholars refused to have anything to do with it, and consequently any impartial investigation or research was neglected for a long time.

The first European scholar who had the courage to rehabilitate the Tantras, especially the Hindu Tantras of the Kuṇḍalinī-Yoga, was Sir John Woodroffe, who published his famous series of works on Tāntric texts and philosophy under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon. In his foreword to the Śrīcakrasambhāra Tantra, he says: "The ignorant . . . envisage spiritual truths so grossly that they come to be called superstition. All evil and ignorance is so much by its nature on the surface and affords so apt a subject for averse judgment that it is readily seized upon, and the more so that it is convenient material for religious polemic. Nevertheless I repeat that we must do credit both to our intelligence and sense of justice by endeavouring to understand any religion in its highest and truest aspect."²

1. See R. Bhattacharya, *Sādhana-mālā*, ii, xxxvi-xxxix and lv; Manindra Mohan Bose, *Post-Caitanya Sahajia Cult of Bengal*, Chapter III, pp 134-42.

2. P. vii.

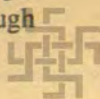


Even Avalon, however, was under the impression that the Buddhist Tantras were merely an off-shoot of the Hindu Tantras, and that the texts, upon which his investigations were based, represented the original principles of the Tantras. This view was justified as long as the Tibetan Tāntric scriptures were comparatively unknown and unexplored, because even those few texts which were available in translation were far from being understood in their spiritual, historical, and practical significance.

The reason for this was the fact that these scriptures cannot be understood merely philologically, but only from the point of view of *yogic* experience, which cannot be learned from books. Moreover, those books, from which information was sought, were written in a peculiar idiom, a language of symbols and secret conventions, which in Sanskrit was called *Saṁdhyābhāṣā* (literally "twilight language", because of the double meaning which underlay its words).

This symbolic language was not only a protection against intellectual curiosity and misuse of *yogic* practices by the ignorant or the uninitiated, but had its origin mainly in the fact that the ordinary language is not able to express the highest experiences of the mind. The indescribable, which is experienced by the *Sādhaka*, the true devotee, can only be hinted at by similes and paradoxes.

We find a similar attitude in the Chinese Ch'an and the Japanese Zen Buddhism, which in fact have much in common with the mediaeval Buddhist mystics, the so-called Siddhas, who flourished in India between the seventh and the eleventh centuries A.D. and were the main propagators of the Tāntric teachings of the Vajrayāna. Their numerous mystic and poetical works were almost completely destroyed in the country of their origin when northern India was overrun by the Muslim invaders. Fortunately, a great many of their works, as well as the bulk of Tāntric literature that had developed up to that time, have been preserved in Tibet in faithful translations, together with the living tradition of *yogic* and meditative practice, which was handed down through



generations from Guru to Cela.

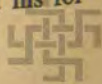
In India, however, the Tāntric tradition went "underground" and lingered mainly in the lower strata of society, where it became mixed up with various popular cults and finally deteriorated into superstition, which discredited both the Buddhist and the genuine Hindu Tantras. These latter were built upon ancient yoga practices which apparently had been remoulded under the influence of Tāntric Buddhism.

The influence of Tāntric Buddhism upon Hinduism was so profound, that up to the present day the majority of Western scholars labour under the impression that Tantrism is a Hinduistic creation which was taken over later by more or less decadent Buddhist schools.

Against this view speaks the great antiquity and consistent development of Tāntric tendencies in Buddhism. Already the early Mahāsaṅghikas had a special collection of māntric formulas in their Dhāraṇī-pitaka; and the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, which according to some authorities goes back to the first century A.D., contains not only mantras and dhāraṇīs, but numerous maṇḍalas and mudrās as well. Even if the dating of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa is somewhat uncertain, it seems probable that the Buddhist Tāntric system had crystallized into a definite form by the end of the third century A.D., as we see from the well-known Guhya-samāja (Tib. dpal-gsang-hdus-pa) Tantra.

To declare Buddhist Tantrism as an off-shoot of Śaivism is only possible for those who have no first-hand knowledge of Tāntric literature. A comparison of the Hindu Tantras with those of Buddhism (which are mostly preserved in Tibetan and which therefore for long remained unnoticed by Indologists) not only shows an astonishing divergence of methods and aims, in spite of external similarities, but proves the spiritual and historical priority and originality of the Buddhist Tantras.

Śaṅkarācārya, the great Hindu philosopher of the 9th century A.D., whose works form the foundation of all Śaivaite philosophy, made use of the ideas of Nāgārjuna and his fol-



lowers to such an extent that orthodox Hindus suspected him of being a secret devotee of Buddhism. In a similar way the Hindu Tantras, too, took over the methods and principles of Buddhist Tantrism and adapted them to their own purposes (much as the Buddhists had adapted the age-old principles and techniques of yoga to their own systems of meditation). This view is not only held by Tibetan tradition and confirmed by a study of its literature, but has also been verified by Indian scholars after a critical investigation of the earliest Sanskrit texts of Tāntric Buddhism and their historical and ideological relationship with the Hindu Tantras.

Thus Benoytosh Bhattacharya, in his *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, has come to the conclusion that "it is possible to declare, without fear of contradiction, that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion, and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times, and that it is idle to say that later Buddhism was an outcome of Śaivism".¹

One of the main propagators of this mistaken idea, which was built upon the superficial similarities of Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, was Austin Waddell who is often quoted as an authority on Tibetan Buddhism. In his estimation Buddhist Tantrism is nothing but Śaivaite idolatry, Śakti worship and demonology. Its "so-called mantras and dhāraṇīs" are "meaningless gibberish," "its mysticism a silly mummerly of unmeaning jargon and 'magic circles'", and its yoga a "parasite whose monster outgrowth crushed and cankered most of the little life of purely Buddhist stock yet left in the Mahāyāna"². "The Mādhyamika doctrine was essentially a sophistic nihilism",³ "the Kāla-cakra unworthy of being considered a philosophy"⁴.

As it was mainly from such 'authorities' that the West received its first knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism, it is no won-

1. P. 147.

2. *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p. 14.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 131.



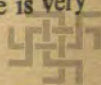
der that up to the present day numerous prejudices against Buddhist Tantrism are firmly entrenched in the Western mind as well as in the minds of those who have approached the subject through Western literature.

To judge Buddhist Tāntric teachings and symbols from the standpoint of Hindu Tantras, and especially from the principles of Śāktism is not only inadequate but thoroughly misleading, because both systems start from entirely different premises. Although both make use of the methods of yoga and of similar technical and philosophical terms, there is little justification for declaring Buddhism to be identical with Brahmanism and therefore in interpreting the Buddhist Tantras in the light of the Hindu Tantras, or vice versa.

Nobody would accuse the Buddha of corrupting his doctrine by accepting the gods of Hindu mythology as a background for his teachings or by using them as symbols of certain forces or meditative experiences or as the exponents of higher states of consciousness; if the Tantras, however, follow a similar course, they are accused of being corrupters of genuine Buddhism.

It is impossible to understand any religious movement unless we approach it in a spirit of humility and reverence, which is the hall-mark of all great scholars and pioneers of learning. We therefore have to see the various forms of expression in their genetic connections and against the spiritual background from which they developed into their particular systems before we start comparing them with similar features in other systems. In fact, the very things which appear similar on the surface are very often just those in which the systems differ most fundamentally. The step that leads upwards in one connection may well lead downwards in another one. Therefore, philological derivations and iconographical comparisons, valuable though they may be in other respects, are not adequate here.

We completely agree with Bhattacharya when he says: "The Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble the Hindu Tantras to a marked degree but in reality there is very



little similarity between them, either in subject matter or in philosophical doctrines inculcated in them, or in religious principles. This is not to be wondered at, since the aims and objects of the Buddhists are widely different from those of the Hindus.”¹

The main difference is that Buddhist Tantrism is not Śaktism. The concept of Śakti, of divine power, of the creative female aspect of the highest God (Śiva) or his emanations does not play any role in Buddhism, while in the Hindu Tantras, the concept of power (Śakti) forms the focus of interest. The central idea of Tāntric Buddhism, however, is prajñā (knowledge, wisdom).

To the Buddhist, Śakti is māyā, the very power that creates illusion, from which only prajñā can liberate us. It is, therefore, not the aim of the Buddhist to acquire power, or to join himself to the powers of the universe, either to become their instrument or to become their master, but, on the contrary, he tries to free himself from those powers, which for aeons kept him a prisoner of saṃsāra. He strives to perceive those powers, which have kept him going in the rounds of life and death, in order to liberate himself from their dominion. However, he does not try to negate them or to destroy them, but to transform them in the fire of knowledge, so that they may become forces of enlightenment which, instead of creating further differentiation, flow in the opposite direction: towards union, towards wholeness, towards completeness.

The attitude of the Hindu Tantras is quite different, if not contrary. “United with the Śakti, be full of power”, says the Kula-cūḍāmaṇi Tantra. “From the union of Śiva and Śakti the world is created.” The Buddhist, on the other hand, does not want the creation and unfoldment of the world, but the coming back to the “uncreated, unformed” state of śūnyatā, from which all creation proceeds, or which is prior to and beyond all creation (if one may put the inexpressible into human language).

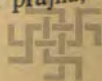
1. *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 47.



The becoming conscious of this *śūnyatā* (Tib. stong-pa-nyid) is *prajñā* (Tib. shes-rab), or highest knowledge. The realization of this highest knowledge in life is enlightenment (bodhi; Tib. byang-chhub), *i.e.*, if *prajñā* (or *śūnyatā*), the passive, all embracing female principle, from which everything proceeds and into which everything recedes, is united with the dynamic male principle of active universal love and compassion, which represents the means (*upāya*; Tib. thabs) for the realization of *prajñā* and *śūnyatā*, then perfect Buddhahood is attained. Intellect without feeling, knowledge without love, and reason without compassion lead to pure negation, to rigidity, to spiritual death, to mere vacuity, while feeling without reason, love without knowledge (blind love), compassion without understanding, lead to confusion and dissolution; but where both are united, where the great synthesis of heart and head, feeling and intellect, highest love and deepest knowledge have taken place, completeness is re-established, and perfect enlightenment is attained.

The process of enlightenment is therefore represented by the most obvious, the most human and at the same time the most universal symbol imaginable: the union of male and female in the ecstasy of love, in which the active element (*upāya*) is represented as a male, the passive (*prajñā*) by a female figure, in contrast to the Hindu Tantras, in which the female aspect is represented as *Śakti*, *i.e.*, the active principle, and the male aspect as *Śiva*, the pure state of divine consciousness or 'being', *i.e.*, the passive principle, or the 'resting in its own nature'.

In Buddhist symbolism, the Knower (Buddha) becomes one with his knowledge (*prajñā*), just as man and wife become one in the embrace of love, and this becoming one is the highest indescribable happiness, *mahāsukha* (Tib. bde-mchhog). The *Dhyānī* Buddhas (*i.e.*, the ideal Buddhas visualized in meditation) and the *Dhyānī* Bodhisattvas, as embodiments of the active urge of enlightenment which finds its expression in *upāya*, the all-embracing love and compassion, are therefore represented in the embrace of their *prajñā*,



symbolized by a female deity, the embodiment of highest knowledge.

This is not the arbitrary reversal of Hindu symbology, in which "the poles of the male and the female as symbols of the divine and its unfoldment have to be exchanged apparently, as otherwise the gender of the concepts which they were intended to embody in Buddhism would not have been in harmony with them"¹, but the consequent application of a principle which is of fundamental importance for the entire Buddhist Tāntric system.

In a similar way the Hindu Tantras are an equally consistent application of the fundamental ideas of Hinduism, even though they have taken over Buddhist methods wherever they suited their purpose. But the same method, when applied from two opposite standpoints, must necessarily lead to opposite results. There is no need to resort to such superficial reasons as the necessity to comply with the grammatical gender of *prajñā* (feminine) and *upāya* (masculine).

Such reasoning, however, was only the consequence of the wrong presupposition that the Buddhist Tantras were an imitation of the Hindu Tantras, and the sooner we can free ourselves from this prejudice, the clearer it will become that the concept of Śakti has no place in Buddhism.

Just as the Theravādin would be shocked if the term *anattā* (Skt. *anātman*) were turned into its opposite and were rendered by the Brahmanical term *ātman* or were explained in such a way as to show that the Theravādin accepted the *ātman* idea (since Buddhism was only a variation of Brahmanism!), so the Tibetan Buddhist would be shocked by the misinterpretation of his religious tradition by the Hindu term *śakti*, which is never used in his scriptures and which means exactly the opposite of what he wants to express by the term *prajñā* or by the female counterparts of the *Dhyāni* Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*.

One cannot arbitrarily transplant the termini of a theistic system, centred round the idea of a God Creator, into a non-

1. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, p. 75.



theistic system which emphatically and fundamentally denies the notion of a God Creator. From such a confusion of terminology arises the mistaken idea that the Ādibuddha of the later Tantras is nothing but another version of the God Creator, which would be a complete reversal of the Buddhist point of view. The Ādibuddha, however, is the symbol of the universality, timelessness and completeness of the enlightened mind, or as Guenther puts it more forcefully: "The statement that the universe or man is the Ādibuddha is but an inadequate verbalization of an all-comprehensive experience. The Ādibuddha is assuredly not a God who plays dice with the world in order to pass away his time. He is not a sort of monotheism either superimposed on an earlier, allegedly atheistic Buddhism. Such notions are the errors of professional semanticists. Buddhism has no taste for theorization. It attempts to delve into the secret depths of our inmost being and to make the hidden light shine forth brilliantly. Therefore the Ādibuddha is best translated as the unfolding of man's true nature."¹

By confusing Buddhist Tantrism with the Śāktism of the Hindu Tantras, a basic misconception has been created, which up to the present day has prevented a clear understanding of the Vajrayāna and its symbolism, in iconography as well as in literature, especially that of the Siddhas. The latter used a particular form of symbology, in which very often the highest was clothed in the form of the lowest, the most sacred in the form of the most ordinary, the transcendent in the form of the most earthly, and deepest knowledge in the form of the most grotesque paradoxes. It was not only a language for initiates, but a kind of shock therapy, which has become necessary on account of the over-intellectualization of the religious and philosophical life of those times.

Just as the Buddha rebelled against the narrow dogmatism of a privileged priestly class, so did the Siddhas rebel against

1. *Yuganaddha, the Tantric View of Life*, H. V. Guenther (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras 1952), p. 187.



the self-complacency of a sheltered monastic existence that had lost contact with the realities of life. Their language was as unconventional as their lives, and those who took their words literally were either misled into striving after magic powers and worldly happiness or were repelled by what appeared to them to be blasphemy. It is therefore not surprising that after the disappearance of the Buddhist tradition in India, this literature fell into oblivion or degenerated into the crude erotic cults of popular Tantrism.

Nothing could be more misleading than to draw inferences about the spiritual attitude of the Buddhist Tantras (or of genuine Hindu Tantras) from these degenerated forms of Tantrism. The former cannot be fathomed theoretically, *i.e.*, through comparisons or the study of ancient literature, but only through practical experience or actual contact with the still existing Tāntric traditions and their contemplative methods, as practised in Tibet and Mongolia, as well as in certain schools of Japan, like the Shingon and the Tendai. With regard to the latter two, Glasenapp remarks: "The female Bodhisattvas figuring in the maṇḍalas, like Prajñā-pāramitā and Cuṇḍī, are sexless beings from whom, quite in accordance with the ancient tradition, associations of a sexual nature are strictly excluded. In this respect these schools differ from those known to us from Bengal, Nepal and Tibet, which emphasize the polarity of the male and female principles."¹

The fact that Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet are mentioned here side by side shows that the Tantrism of Bengal and Nepal is regarded to be of the same nature as that of Tibet, and that the author, though seeing the necessity of distinguishing between Tantrism and Śaktism, has not yet drawn the last conclusion, namely, that even those Buddhist Tantras which built their symbolism upon the polarity of the male and the female, *never* represent the female principle as śakti, but al-

1. H. V. Glasenapp, *Die Entstehung des Vajrayāna*, Zeitschr. d. deutsch morgenländ. Gesellschaft, Vol. 90, p. 560, Leipzig, 1936.



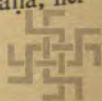
ways as its contrary—*prajñā* (wisdom), *vidyā* (knowledge), or *mudrā* (the spiritual attitude of unification, the realization of *śūnyatā*). Herewith they reject the basic idea of Śāktism and its world-creating eroticism.

Though the polarity of male and female principles is recognized in the Tantras of the Vajrayāna and is an important feature of its symbolism, it is raised upon a plane which is as far away from the sphere of mere sexuality as the mathematical juxtaposition of positive and negative signs, which is as valid in the realm of irrational values as in that of rational or concrete concepts.

In Tibet the male and female *Dhyānī* Buddhas and *Bodhi-sattvas* are regarded as little as “sexual beings” as in the above-mentioned schools of Japan; and to the Tibetan even their aspect of union (Skt. *Yuganaddha*; Tib. *yabyum*) is indissolubly associated with the highest spiritual reality in the process of enlightenment, so that associations with the realm of physical sexuality are completely ignored.

We must not forget that the figural representations of these symbols are not looked upon as portraying human beings, but as embodying the experiences and visions of meditation. In such a state, however, there is nothing more that could be called ‘sexual’; there is only the super-individual polarity of all life, which rules all mental and physical activities, and which is transcended only in the ultimate state of integration, in the realization of *śūnyatā*. This is the state which is called *mahāmudrā* (Tib. *phyag-rgya-chhen-po*), the “Great Attitude” or “the Great Symbol”, which has given its name to one of the most important systems of meditation in Tibet.

In the earlier forms of Indian Buddhist Tantrism, *Mahāmudrā* was represented as the ‘eternal female’ principle, as may be seen from Advayavajra’s definition: “The words ‘great’ and ‘mudrā’ together form the term ‘mahāmudrā’. She is not something (*niḥśvabhāva*); she is free from the veils which cover the cognizable object and so on; she shines forth like the serene sky at noon during autumn; she is the support of all success; she is the identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*; her



body is compassion (*karuṇā*) which is not restricted to a single object; she is the uniqueness of Great Bliss (*mahāsukhaikarūpa*).”¹

If in one of the most controversial passages of *Anaḥ-gavajra's Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*² it is said that all women should be enjoyed by the *sādhaka* in order to experience the *mahāmudrā*, it is clear that this cannot be understood in the physical sense, but that it can only be applied to that higher form of love *which is not restricted to a single object* and which is able to see all ‘female’ qualities, whether in ourselves or in others as those of the Divine Mother (*prajñā-pāramitā* or transcendental wisdom).

Another passage, which by its very grotesqueness proves that it is meant to be a paradox and is not to be taken literally states that “the *sādhaka* who has sexual intercourse with his mother, his sister, his daughter, and his sister's daughter, will easily succeed in his striving for the ultimate goal (*tattva-yoga*)”.³

To take expressions like ‘mother’, ‘sister’, ‘daughter’ or ‘sister's daughter’ literally in this connection is as senseless as taking literally the well-known *Dhammapada* verse (No. 294), which says that, after having killed father and mother and two *Kṣātriya* kings, and having destroyed a kingdom with all its inhabitants, the *Brāhmaṇa* remains free from sin. Here ‘father and mother’ stands for ‘egoism and craving’ (Pali: *asmimāna and taṇhā*), the ‘two kings’ for the erroneous views of annihilation or eternal existence (*uccheda va sassata-diṭṭhi*), the ‘kingdom and its inhabitants’ for ‘the twelve spheres of consciousness’ (*dvādaśāyatnani*) and the *Brāhmaṇa* for the liberated monk (*bhikkhu*).

To maintain that *Tāntric Buddhists* actually encouraged incest and licentiousness is as ridiculous as accusing the The-

1. *Advayavajra*, *Caturmudrā*, p. 34, quoted in *Yuganaddha*.

2. *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* in *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Gaikwad Oriental Series, No. XLIV, p. 22.

3. *Anaḥgavajra*, *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, V, 25, quoted in *Yuganaddha*, p. 106. A similar statement is found in the *Guhya-samāja Tantra*.

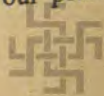


ravādins of condoning matricide and patricide and similar heinous crimes. If we only take the trouble to investigate the living tradition of the Tantras in their genuine, unadulterated forms, as they exist up to the present day in thousands of monasteries and hermitages of Tibet, where the ideals of sense-control and renunciation are held in the highest esteem, then only can we realize how ill founded and worthless are the current theories which try to drag the Tantras into the realm of sensuality.

From the point of view of the Tibetan Tāntric tradition, the above-mentioned passages can only be meaningful in the context of yoga terminology.

'All women in the world' signifies all the elements which make up the female principles of our psycho-physical personality which, as the Buddha says, represents what is called 'the world'. To these principles correspond, on the opposite side, an equal number of male principles. Four of the female principles form a special group, representing the vital forces (prāṇa) of the Great Elements (mahābhūta), Earth, Water, Fire, Air, and their corresponding psychic centres (cakra) or planes of consciousness within the human body. In each of them the union of male and female principles must take place, before the fifth and highest stage is reached. If the expressions 'mother', 'sister', 'daughter', etc., are applied to the forces of these fundamental qualities of the mahābhūtas, the meaning of the symbolism becomes clear.

In other words, instead of seeking union with a woman outside ourselves, we have to seek it within ourselves ("in our own family") by the union of our male and female nature in the process of meditation. This is clearly stated in Tilopā's famous Six Doctrines (Tib. chos drug bsdus-pahi hzin-bris), upon which the most important yoga method of the Kargyutpa school is based, a method which was practised by Milarepa, the most saintly and austere of all the great masters of meditation (whom certainly nobody could accuse of 'sexual practices'). Though we cannot here go into the details of this yoga, a short quotation may suffice to prove our point.



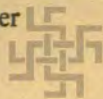
"The vital force of the Five Aggregates (Tib. *phung-po*; Skt. *skandha*) in its real nature, pertaineth to the masculine aspect of the Buddha-principle manifesting through the left psychic nerve (Tib. *kyang-ma rtsa*; Skt. *idā-nāḍī*). The vital force of the Five Elements (Tib. *hbyung-ba*; Skt. *dhātu*), in its real nature, pertaineth to the feminine aspect of the Buddha-principle manifesting through the right psychic-nerve (Tib. *ro-ma rtsa*; Skt. *pingalā-nāḍī*). As the vital force with these two aspects of it in union, descendeth into the median nerve (Tib. *dbu-ma rtsa*; Skt. *suṣumnā*) gradually there cometh the realization . . ." and one attains the transcendental boon of the Great Symbol (*mahāmudrā*)¹, the union of the male and female principles (as *upāya* and *prajñā*) in the highest state of Buddhahood.

Thus, only if we are able to see the relationship of body and mind, of physical and spiritual interaction in a universal perspective, and if in this way we overcome the "I" and "mine" and the whole structure of egocentric feelings, opinions, and prejudices which produce the illusion of our separate individuality, then only can we rise into the sphere of Buddhahood.

In this sense, the Buddhist Tantras are not only the legitimate heirs of the *Vijñānavādins* and *Yogācārins*, but the logical outcome and ultimate consequence of the central idea of Buddhism which consists in the Law of Dependent Origination. Though the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path form the framework of the Buddha's teachings, they are generalizations which do not constitute anything exclusively Buddhist. The fact of suffering and the certainty that suffering can be overcome by the extinction of desire based on egoism was common ground in Indian religious thought and is taught by other religions as well. The Eightfold Path, too, reiterates what every Indian devotee believes, and what may be regarded as common ground of all religious-minded people, irrespective of their particular faith.

But in what Buddhism distinguishes itself from all other

¹ W. V. Evans-Wintz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, p. 200 ff.



religions, in what its uniqueness consists, is the idea that the world is neither governed by a God Creator nor by blind chance, but by the law of spiritual and material inter-relatedness which is neither simple causality nor metaphysical determinism, but the law of Dependent Origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*). This law is more than a number of rigidly fixed sequences of causes and effects, in which form it has been popularized for the convenience of those who want to see it applied to the exigencies of individual human life (or to establish the working of individual karma)—it is the idea that nothing exists in itself or by itself as a separate unit, either in time or in space, but is dependent on a variety of conditions and related to everything else in the world, so that we can neither speak of 'existence' nor of 'non-existence', neither of 'being' nor of 'not-being' with regard to any form of life.

Therefore, it is said in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, II, 17: "This world, O Kaccāna, is addicted to dualism, to the 'it is' and to the 'it is not'. He who perceives in truth and wisdom how things arise in the world, for him there is no 'it is not' in the world. And O Kaccāna, he who perceives in truth and wisdom how things in the world pass away, for him there is no 'it is' in the world."

It is from this position that the Buddha's doctrine of *anātman* is to be understood. Therefore, when *Aśvajit* was asked to sum up the Buddha's teaching in a single sentence, he did not mention the Four Noble Truths or the Eightfold Path, but the *pratītya-samutpāda* in its most fundamental aspect. And when again the Wheel of the Law was set in motion by *Nāgārjuna*, the revitalization of Buddhism was based upon the *pratītya-samutpāda* in the opening verse of his *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, in which he says:

*Anirodham anutpādam anucchedam aśāśvatam
anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anirgamam
yaḥ pratītyasamutpādam prapañcopaśamam śivam
deśayāmāsa sambuddhas tam vande vadatām varam*

Without destruction and without origination, without
 being cut off and without being eternal,
 Neither being one thing, nor different things, neither
 coming nor going,
 He who can thus teach the Dependent Origination,
 the blissful coming to rest of all illusory
 unfoldment,
 Before Him, the Enlightened One, the best of all
 teachers,
 I reverently bow down.

The term *prapañca*, 'illusory unfoldment or differentiation' (or 'conceptually differentiated reality'), is a synonym for *māyā*, the illusion caused by the blind world-creating power (*śakti*). It is this power that leads us deeper and deeper into the realm of becoming, of birth and death, of matter and differentiation, unless it is countered or reversed by *prajñā*, or wisdom born of profound insight into the nature of the world, through insight into ourselves and the realization of enlightenment within our own mind, because the nature of the world is not different from our own nature. The inner and outer world are only the two sides of the same fabric, in which the threads of all forces and events, of all forms of consciousness and all objects are woven into one.

This idea has never been expressed more forcefully and completely than in the Buddhist Tantras. The word *tantra* itself is related to the concept of weaving (the dictionary gives "loom, thread, web, fabric" as synonyms), hinting at the interwovenness of things and actions, the interdependence of all that exists, the continuity in the interaction of cause and effect, as well as in traditional development, which like a thread weaves its way through the fabric of history and of individual lives. The term '*tantra*' (Tib. *rgyud*) therefore can also stand for tradition, spiritual continuity or succession. The scriptures, however, which in Buddhism go by the title of *Tantra*, are invariably of a mystic nature and try to establish the inner relationship of things by way of spiritual



exercises, in which yantra, mantra, and mudrā, the parallelism of the visible, the audible, and the touchable, unite the powers of mind (citta), speech (vāk), and body (kāya), in order to realize the final state of completeness and enlightenment.¹

Thus in applying the words of Guru Gampopa, it may be said that the Buddhist Tantras represent "a philosophy comprehensive enough to embrace the whole of knowledge, a system of meditation which will produce the power of concentrating the mind upon anything whatsoever, and an art of living which will enable one to utilize each activity (of body, speech, and mind) as an aid on the Path of Liberation".²

MANTRAYĀNA AND SAHAJAYĀNA

From among the many branches of Buddhism, Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are the least known. Generally one is of the opinion that they are late developments. Mantras, however, are already found in certain passages of the old Pali Canon, as for instance, in the Āṭānāṭiya-sutta. Although it is difficult to ascertain the role of mantras in the earlier phases of Buddhism, it may safely be assumed that because of the antiquity of the mantras the essentials of Mantrayāna for a long time developed along lines parallel with the more intellectual schools of Buddhism and were systematically codified and called a yāna or 'a career' only later. Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna deal primarily with the psychologically effective aspects of spiritual development. Their instructions are of a highly individual character and their contents must be grasped with the immediacy of experience, which accounts for the difficulty these two aspects of Buddhism present to an understanding which is accustomed to comprehend things

1. The very fact that the term tantra in Hinduism is used indiscriminately for all sorts of literature, while in Buddhism it is exclusively applied to works representing t̃āntric principles, is another proof of the priority of the Buddhist Tantras.

2. From *The Twelve Indispensable Things* by Guru Gampopa. Cf. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, p. 79.



only in terms of their verbally designated relations to each other.

What then is Mantrayāna and what are its tenets? A clear account of the subject can be found in Padma-dkar-po's numerous scholarly works. From his account it is evident that Mantrayāna aims at achieving what the other branches of Buddhism also claim to deal with, namely, the integration of the human being, enlightenment or spiritual maturity. However, the methods are vastly different. While the attainment of spiritual maturity depends solely on the efforts of the individual and is in itself incommunicable, certain preliminary rites are necessary in order to facilitate the process of integration. The first step is 'taking refuge and the formation of an attitude directed toward enlightenment (bodhicitta) as a means to making the individual fit for his task'. Refuge is taken in the Three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, but they are no longer concrete persons and scriptures but, it may be said, spiritual forces symbolically represented by the Three Jewels. This taking of refuge is intimately connected with the resolve to attain enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings and this resolve furthers the change of attitude, where the aspirant consciously turns away from the directness of ordinary intellectual reasoning and begins to see himself and the world around him from an intuitive standpoint. The next step is to strengthen and to develop this new attitude and in this meditative process the recitation of mantras plays an important part 'as the means to remove the opposing conditions, the veiling power of evil'. The mantra is by definition 'a protection of mind', that is, a formula which prevents the mind from going astray and therefore a positive help in meditative concentration. It is a well-known fact that the human mind is not only influenced by the images within and without but also by words. The power of words is all the more effective when such words or even mere syllables resist any attempt to be reduced to mere concepts of intellection. Although the mantras have a definite relation to the energetic processes



they symbolize, the use of a particular mantra depends on the aspirant's personality and the spiritual discipline which suits him. It is this factor that has been most scientifically developed in Mantrayāna. After this comes the offering of a maṇḍala 'as the means to perfect the prerequisites of merits and knowledge'. Modern depth psychology has rediscovered the intrinsic value of the maṇḍala for the process of integration. Buddhism here again goes far beyond the findings of modern psychology and deals with the problem more exhaustively, in that it does not separate and isolate man from his context, this context being the whole universe and not a mere socially accepted pattern. Each step in the preparation of the maṇḍala corresponds to one of the six perfections (pāramitā), liberality, ethics, patience, strenuousness, meditative concentration, and appreciative analytical understanding. This means that the construction of a maṇḍala has a practical value since it affects the individual in his behaviour (caryā). As in the other forms of Mahayāna, Mantrayāna is strongly opposed to escapism and posits a positive aim and ideal (bodhi) against a negative one (nirodha). All this is, as it were, preparatory to the last phase, the guru-yoga, as 'the means to have the all-sustaining power of reality settled on one's self'. By the guru-yoga one realizes the indivisible unity of one's self with the ultimate reality. The guru-yoga is a most exclusive discipline and its methods are intricate. Although, in the ultimate sense, the guru is reality itself and although reality is found in everything and not in a fancied 'absolute' of dubious validity, without the help of a human guru, who himself has practised this yoga and hence is able to guide the aspirant on his difficult path, the message of Mantrayāna remains a sealed book.

Closely related to Mantrayāna is Sahajayāna. What does sahaja mean? The literal meaning is 'to be born together', but what is it that is born together? The classical answer has been given by Zla-od-gzhon-nu, alias Dvags-po-lha-rje, the most gifted disciple of the Tibetan

scholar and saint Mi-la-ras-pa. He explains that it is the ultimate in Mind or the dharmakāya and the ultimate in Appearance or the light of the dharmakāya which are born together. Appearance and Mind are therefore indivisibly born together. What he wants to say is that Reality and Appearance are not separated from each other by an unbridgeable gulf, but are identical. This identity means that Reality is one and indivisible and is split up arbitrarily into a number of opposites only by the analytical methods and techniques of the intellect. Hence, the identity of Reality and Appearance can be realized and experienced only by intuitive processes, and it is absolutely wrong and misleading to conceive of this identity as a postulational hypothesis. In order to achieve this realization, a course of meditation has been developed which is based on direct experience and takes cognizance of the fact that intellectual operations are inseparable from their emotional concomitants. The dichotomizing activity of the mind (vikalpa) is accompanied and even supported by conflicting emotions (kleśa), which has an obscuring influence (moha, andhakāra). This turbulent state of mind can be remedied by meditative practices. The quietude, which, as has to be borne in mind, is not achieved by repression but by an understanding of the psychological processes, is the first glimpse of what forms a solid basis for further spiritual development or the viewpoint from which one can safely proceed onwards. This viewpoint is technically known as 'happiness, lustre, and non-dichotomizing thought' (Tib. bde-gsal-mi-rtog., Skt. sukha-prabhāsvara-nirvikalpa). The more this line is pursued and the deeper the experience becomes, the clearer the view becomes, since, intellectually speaking, the concepts which obstruct the view by creating artificial opposites have become ineffective, and, in respect of the emotions, the conflict has been resolved. It is from this experience, and not from a futile attempt at rationalizing, that the Mahāyānic axiom of the identity of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa and of the identity of emotionality and

enlightenment assumes significance.

The very fact that what Sahajayāna teaches is no intellectual system but a strict discipline that has to be practised in order to be known makes it difficult to comprehend and to define. Moreover, Sahajayāna emphasizes the intuitive approach to Reality, and it is a fact that the function of intuition is not the same as that of the intellect and that their modes of operation are completely different. This accounts for the fact that Sahajayāna and Mantrayāna successfully evaded the fate of turning into dead systems.

Both Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are concerned with the practical aspect of Buddhism which culminates in the four peaks of 'view based on experience' (Tib. *lta-ba*, Skt. *dṛṣṭi*), 'development of what this view offers' (Tib. *sgom-pa*, Skt. *bhāvanā*), 'to live and act accordingly' (Tib. *spyod-pa*, Skt. *caryā*), and 'the integration of the individual' (Tib. *bras-bu*, Skt. *phala*) which may be variously called 'enlightenment', 'spiritual maturity', or 'Buddhahood'.

Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna have had the greatest influence on Tibetan Buddhism and there is sufficient evidence to show that it is also the basis of Zen Buddhism. Their influence has been all the more marked, because they refer to the whole of human nature. Man is not only an intellectual being, but also an emotional one, and it is well known that the emotive meaning of anything whatsoever is of greater importance for shaping the life of an individual than the mere intellectual connotation. Thus, while all the brilliant systems of Buddhist thought, the systematized works of the Mādhyamakas, Vijñānavādins, Vaibhaṣikas, Sautrāntikas, and so on, are more or less of academic interest only, Mantrayāna and Sahajāyana have remained a living force to this day. The living Buddhism of Tibet, the Himalayan countries, China, and Japan has been deeply influenced by the practices of Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna, and cannot be conceived without them.

Although Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are not schools clinging to rigidly defined tenets, as do, for instance, the

Vaibhāṣikas and Vijñānavādins, they are of the greatest importance for the living force of Buddhism—Mantrayāna with its emotionally moving and aesthetically appealing ritual, and Sahajayāna with its profound meditative practices. No wonder therefore that the most outstanding personalities of Buddhism, such as Asaṅga, Śāntideva, Tilopā, Nāropā, Maitrīpa, gSer-glin-pa, Dvags-po-lha-rje and many others, have contributed to them.



CHAPTER XIV

Buddhist Studies in Recent Times

SOME EMINENT BUDDHIST SCHOLARS

In India and Europe

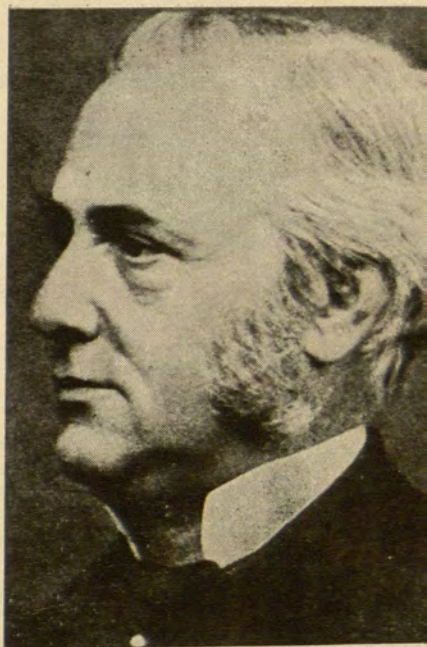
According to a Buddhist tradition, the *dharmacakra-pravartana*—the Turning of the Wheel of Law—is said to have taken place three times.¹ Historically, the reference is first to the one which took place at Sarnath, the second to the resurgence of Mahāyāna and the third to the rise of the Yogācāra school of Vijñānavāda. To this can be added a fourth awakening, which may be reckoned as co-existent with the period of intensive research on Buddhism in the East and West in the past hundred years. The awakening was sudden and inspired, and it brought about a renaissance in Buddhist studies. This new wave spread through the three continents of Europe, Asia and America, touching almost all branches of the Arts and Humanities thereby leading to a revival of cultural life in Asian countries and making the world Buddha-saṃjñī, or Buddha-conscious.

One has only to look into the stupendous eight volumes of *Bibliographie Bouddhique* or into *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, by Winternitz to realize the enormous amount of work done in the field of Buddhist studies. The names of E. Burnouf, Fausböll, Prinsep, Kern, Csoma de Körös, Oldenberg, Poussin, Lévi, Stcherbatsky and the illustrious couple, Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, stand out in glory in the West and one remembers with reverence such veterans in the East as S. C. Das.

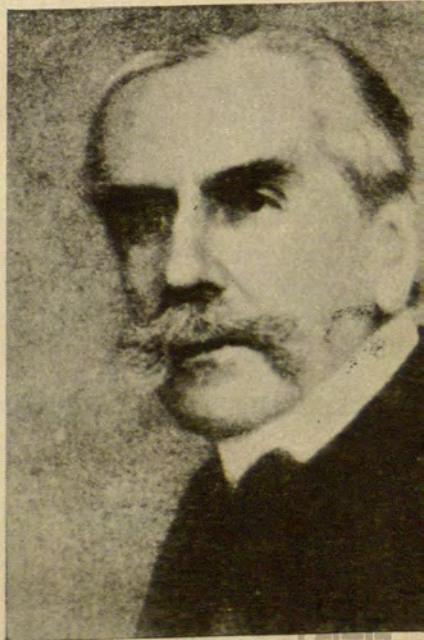
1. See T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*.



Friedrich Max Muller
(1823-1900)

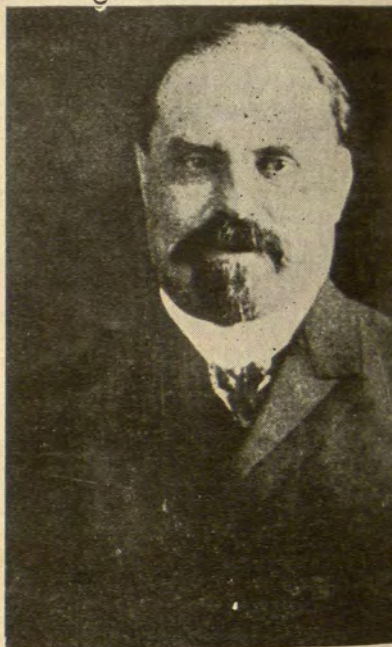


Louis de la Vallee Poussin
(1869-1939)



Emile Senart
(1847-1928)

Hermann Oldenberg
(1854-1920)



T. W. Rhys Davids
(1843-1922)



Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids
(1858-1942)
Ind. & London National
Centre for the Arts

S. C. Vidyabhusan, Bunyiu Nanjio, J. Takakusu, D. Kosambi and B. M. Barua. There are also innumerable other scholars in our times who have kept the torch burning and deserve our grateful homage.

Until a century ago the word Pali or even such words as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were little known outside Ceylon, Burma and Japan. The discovery of Pali literature, with which Aśoka is closely associated, is an interesting story. In the first quarter of the last century, archaeologists like James Prinsep and others were engaged in deciphering Aśokan edicts. It was the occurrence of the word Piyadassī in the Mahāvamsa, a Pali Chronicle of Ceylon, that helped them to identify King Piyadassī of the edicts with King Aśoka. No wonder that a Pali book from Ceylon should have brought to light the name of a king who was so greatly instrumental in carrying the Buddha's message of enlightenment to the island. The credit for this discovery goes to George Turnour who realized the value of the hidden treasures in Pali literature and published a critical edition and translation of the Mahāvamsa in 1837.

These developments were received with great interest by Western Indologists and an eminent scholar, Prof. Vincent Fausboll of Copenhagen, came forward with an edition and a Latin translation of the Dhammapada in 1855. Scholars like E. Burnouf, B. Clough and J. Lewis had already published works on the Pali language based on the few texts that were available. New branches in Buddhist studies were opened. These can roughly be summarized as follows:

- (1) Sanskrit studies through the collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal (1821—41), and their distribution in various libraries of India and Europe by B. H. Hodgson;
- (2) Tibetan studies through the publication of *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1834) by Csoma de Körös;



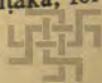
- (3) Pali studies through the publication of R. C. Childers' *Pali-English Dictionary* (1875) and the foundation of the Pali Text Society (1881); and
- (4) Chinese studies through the publication of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* (1883).

Hodgson's distinct service in procuring Nepalese manuscripts and the subsequent discoveries of Tibetan and Pali literature helped Eugene Burnouf to write the first history of Buddhism. His famous work, *Introduction a l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, published in 1844, contained an excellent survey of Buddhist literature and threw light on the relations between the Pali and Sanskrit traditions. He translated long passages of the Divyāvadāna, the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, the Vajrasūci and wrote the first notes on the Prajñā-pāramitās, the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and other extant literature. His second work, *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, was a French translation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, which appeared in 1852.

While Burnouf concentrated on Sanskrit Buddhism, Fausböll made progress with his edition of the Pali texts. His edition of the Dhammapada with a Latin translation (1855) heralded the studies in Buddhist religion and thought. His English translation of another major work, the Suttanipāta, was published in the Sacred Books of the East Series in 1881, while the Pali Text Society published his critical edition of the same text in 1885.

His greatest work, however, was the edition of the Jātakas. This monumental work, which was his first love, will for ever remain a standing monument of his astonishing mind and industry. This was a substantial contribution to the studies of popular Buddhism and Indian folklore. Fausböll published this standard edition in six volumes between 1877 and 1897, thus contributing very largely to the study of cultural material in Buddhist literature.

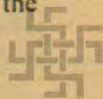
Even before the Pali Text Society was begun, many eminent scholars had devoted themselves to editing Pali texts. The credit for editing the entire Vinaya-piṭaka, for



instance, goes to Hermann Oldenberg, a giant among the Indologists in the last century. He was a great Vedic scholar and has set the standard for the critical editions and interpretations of the Ṛgveda. His learned introduction to the Vinaya-piṭaka brought the Discipline of the Buddhist Order to the forefront and a new field was opened for Buddhist ecclesiastical studies. The Vinaya-piṭaka was published during the period from 1879 to 1883 and his English translations of the Pātimokkha, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga, in collaboration with Rhys Davids, appeared in Volumes XIII, XVII, and XX of the Sacred Books of the East (1881—85). His other celebrated work, *The Buddha*, was translated into English by Hoey in the year 1882. This was the first text-book in Europe based wholly on first-hand Pali sources. His other major works were the editions of the Thera-Therī-gāthā (P.T.S., 1883) the Dīpa-vaṃsa (Text and English translation, 1897), and *Literatur des alten Indien*.

Apart from these solid works, Oldenberg has many learned articles to his credit. His erudition in Vedic literature helped him to establish the relation between Pali literature and the Vedas. His original suggestion that the introduction to the Sāmaññaphala-sutta is an imitation of the Yājñavalkya-Janaka dialogue in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (IV, I), or his contention that the Pali Jātakas are akin to the Ākhyāna hymns of the Ṛgveda is an illustration in point.

Another great scholar of this period was Prof. H. Kern of Leyden. Kern's first work was an edition of the Jātaka-mālā of Āryaśūra (Vol. I., H.O.S., 1891), a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali Jātakas. His edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (*Bibl. Buddhica*, 1908) and its translation (S.B.E., Vol. XXI, 1884) threw abundant light on the Mahāyāna, and made the study of the religious aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism easier. In 1896 his famous *Manual of Indian Buddhism* was published in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, or the



Encyclopaedia for Indo-Aryan Research. It gave for the first time a complete, systematic and concise survey of the long history of Buddhism. Even to this day, it remains a valuable book of reference for students of Buddhism. His other monumental work, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde* in two volumes (1901—1903), gives a detailed account of the life of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. It also contains a valuable history of the Buddhist Councils and later developments of various schools and sects.

These works, however, were essentially of a preliminary character. The historical importance of the newly discovered Pali literature was soon recognized by many younger Oriental scholars, the foremost of them being Prof. Rhys Davids. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service, where he showed a keen interest in his Buddhist surroundings and learnt Pali with Y. Unnase and the Ven. Sumangala of the Vidyodaya College, Colombo. He returned to England in 1872 and associated himself with the works of Childers, Fausböll and Oldenberg. Childers' articles on Nibbāṇa had aroused much controversy and Rhys Davids gave his mature judgment on this topic in his book, *Buddhism* (1878). In 1879 he published his English translation of the Nidānakathā (Buddhist Birth Stories) with a critical introduction on the transmigration of folklore. With Oldenberg he translated into English the volumes of the Vinaya-piṭaka referred to above. This was his first contribution to the Sacred Books of the East Series (1881—85).

In 1881 Prof. Rhys Davids was invited to give the Hibbert Lectures in America. Here he announced the birth of the famous Pali Text Society. In stately language he described his new outlook towards the field of Buddhist studies and declared, "The Sacred Books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity; and it is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history and especially of

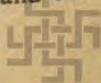
religious history than the publication of the Vedas has already been." This new project was welcomed both in the East and the West, and many distinguished scholars came forward to help him in the noble cause. The rest of his life is indeed the life of the Pali Text Society. His sympathetic outlook for the East and his missionary zeal for Buddhist studies made him a champion in this sphere; and, until he died in 1922, he served the Society for a period of forty-one years with love and devotion and helped to publish almost the whole of the Pali canonical texts, a large number of Pali commentaries, about a dozen translations and some twenty issues of a journal containing learned articles on Buddhism, and on the Pali language and literature. During this period of manifold activities, Prof. Rhys Davids himself edited a number of texts like the *Dīgha-nikāya* (1889, 1903, 1910), the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (1884), the *Dāṭhāvamsa* (1884) and a manual of *Yogāvacāra* (1896). He also brought out his English translations of the *Milinda-pañha* (S.B.E. 1890—94) and of the *Dīgha-nikāya* in 1889, 1910 and 1921 (S.B.B.). His critical introductions to the individual suttas of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the learned notes on them are indispensable for the study of this text. Even today this work remains a model for the translation of similar texts. His other works of general interest are many; but two, namely, *Buddhism* (1896) and *Buddhist India* (1903) won great popularity through their novelty and original research.

However, the most important of his works, his *Pali-English Dictionary*, compiled in collaboration with Dr. William Stede, is a monumental work worthy of a great scholar. With the increase of new publications by the Pali Text Society, the old dictionary by Childers was found inadequate and, in 1902, Prof. Rhys Davids conceived the idea of compiling a dictionary on an international basis. The First World War, however, interrupted his scheme. Therefore, it was not until 1916 that he set to work on this dictionary with the assistance of Dr. William Stede under the auspices

of the Pali Text Society. He lived to see the publication of the first three parts of this magnificent work. His eminent colleague, Dr. Stede, completed the work in 1925. Indeed, the services of Prof. Rhys Davids to the cause of Pali studies were singular and original. He was, in the words of his wife, the Max Müller of Buddhism.

Prof. Rhys Davids was perhaps excelled only by his wife, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, who brought her mighty contributions to Pali studies as a crowning glory to her husband's work. As a life-long companion and a co-worker of her husband, she took active part in the publications of the Pali Text Society and, after the death of the founder, conducted the affairs of the Society admirably in spite of adverse circumstances. Even as early as 1909, she had translated into English the *Therī-gāthā* (Psalms of the Sisters), which, for lyrical beauty, is next only to Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (1885). This book was soon followed by an English translation of the *Thera-gāthā* (Psalms of the Brethren, 1913). In 1917 she gave another fine English translation of the *Sagāthāvagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. The credit for bringing the abstruse *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* to light also goes to her. In addition, she gave readable editions of otherwise difficult texts, such as the *Vibhaṅga* (1904), the *Paṭṭhāna* (1921), the *Yamaka* (1912) and the *Visuddhimagga* (1920). She also translated into English the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (*Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, 1923), the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (*Compendium of Philosophy*, 1910) and the *Kathā-vatthu* (*Points of Controversy*, 1915), the last two in collaboration with Z. Aung.

Apart from these editions and translations, Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote a number of original books dealing with the history of early Buddhist thought. The impact of the researches in Mahāyāna Buddhism on the one hand, and the repulsion caused by the dogmatic Anātmavāda of the Southern Buddhists on the other, inspired Mrs. Rhys Davids to look for the original teachings of the Buddha, and she



brought out her thought-provoking *Śākya or Buddhist Origins* in 1931. She was a lady of astonishing energy and wrote a number of articles. These have been collected in *Wayfarer's Words* in three volumes which were published posthumously in 1942. Whatever she wrote, she wrote with conviction and every word of her writing bears the stamp of her unique personality.

The Pali Text Society brought into prominence many illustrious scholars of the West like V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, K. E. Neumann, Léon Feer, F. L. Woodward, R. Morris and E. Hardy. To these we can add the magnificent works of American scholars. *Buddhism in Translations* by Warren and *Buddhist Legends* by E. W. Burlingame (Harvard Oriental Series) contributed considerably to the popularization of Buddhist studies.

The labours of Western scholars could not but bring about an awakening among the scholars of India. This led to the foundation of the Buddhist Text Society in Calcutta in 1892. The President of this Society expressed the feeling of the whole country, when he observed at the first general meeting, "It certainly does not redound much to our honour that Buddhist literature should be more explored in the West than in the East; but I trust that this Society will be the means of wiping off this standing reproach to us." The large number of valuable manuscripts scattered in various libraries in Nepal and outside were catalogued by Rajendra Lal Mitra and Hara Prasad Shastri. They also brought out *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* in 1882. In the same year, the great Indian explorer, Sarat Chandra Das, returned from his travels into the interior of Tibet, where he had collected an immense amount of material from the ancient libraries of the Śākya and Sam-ye monasteries of Lhasa. The thrilling accounts of his journey have been published in *The Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*. He gave a series of lectures on the Indian paṇḍits in Tibet, in which he brought to light the works of Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna or Atiśa. These



lectures were later published in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. His editions of the Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra in 1888 (*Bibl. Indica Series*) and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa in 1898 were substantial contributions to the study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature. He also prepared a Tibetan-English dictionary.

Sarat Chandra Das was indeed a pioneer in Tibetan studies, and was, thus, the Csoma de Kőrös of India. The Buddhist Text Society, which he served for many years, published many unknown texts such as the Bodhicaryāvatāra (1894) and the first few chapters of the Visuddhimagga (1893). It is notable that the Society had embarked upon a novel and ingenious scheme of publishing a Sanskrit version of the Pali Visuddhimagga. It also published the Svayambhū-purāṇa and a translation of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā by Hara Prasad Shastri. Harimohan Vidyabhusan's translation of some portions of Candrakīrti's Mādhyamika-vṛtti was also published. Moreover, the Society arranged for the teaching of Buddhists from abroad in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and thus opened a new department of Buddhist studies in India.

Another eminent Indian in this field was Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, a pupil and colleague of S. C. Das. Dr. Vidyabhusan was a great Sanskritist and had specialized in Indian logic. In 1893 his services were lent by the Government of Bengal to the Buddhist Text Society, under whose auspices he edited a number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. He came into contact with S. C. Das and assisted him in the preparation of a Tibetan-English dictionary (1879-1900). He was the first Indian to obtain an M.A. degree in Pali at Calcutta University (1901). In 1910 he went to Ceylon and studied for six months with the Ven. High Priest Sumangala, the Principal of the Vidyodaya College, Colombo. On his return he was appointed Principal of the famous Government Sanskrit College at Calcutta, where he carried on intensive research in Indian—particularly Buddhist—logic and philosophy.



His earlier works include editions of the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (in co-operation with S. C. Das), parts of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Kaccāyana's *Pali Grammar* with an English translation (1907), the *Buddha-stotra-saṅgraha* (1908) and the *Nyāyabindu* (1917). His greatest contributions were in the field of logic. He wrote several learned articles dealing with the works of Dinnāga and Nāgārjuna. His editions of the *Mādhyamika* aphorisms, about 150 essays on various aspects of Buddhist philosophy, and the monumental *History of Indian Logic* (1922) are an eloquent tribute to a worthy son of India. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he revolutionized research in Buddhism by laying proper emphasis on Mahāyāna logic and philosophy.

Dr. Vidyabhusan's Western contemporaries in this field were Max Müller, Bendall, Minayeff, Max Walleser and Sylvain Lévi. Max Müller, the father of Indian studies in the West, contributed greatly to the progress of studies in Buddhism. His translations of the *Dhammapada*, the *Sukhāvati-vyūha* and the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā* made more valuable his great work of editing the translations of the *Pali Piṭaka*. In 1889, I. P. Minayeff brought out his edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. This was followed by the edition (1902) and translation (1922) of the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* by C. Bendall. These two works helped considerably in the popularization of the excellent works of Śāntideva. Max Walleser discovered many Tibetan works. Of his important editions reference may be made here to the commentary of Buddhapālita on the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* (*Bibl. Bud.*, XVI), the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* (1916), and the *Manorathapūraṇī* (Part I, *Pali Text Society*, 1924). His German translation of extracts from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* appeared in 1914. He was the author of many valuable books in German, of which the following may be mentioned: *Die Buddhistische Philosophie* (1904), *Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhuti* (1917), *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* (1927) and *Sprache und Heimat des Pali Kanons* (1926).

The greatest Indologist of this period, however, was



Sylvain Lévi who rendered unique service to studies in Sanskrit Buddhism. He was endowed with a profound knowledge of the Chinese, Tibetan and Kucheān languages, which enabled him to give the first critical editions of a number of Mahāyāna texts. In 1892 he published, for the first time, the first chapter of the Buddhacarita and in the same year discovered two Chinese translations of the Milinda-pañha. In 1905 he came to Nepal, explored its libraries anew and wrote his famous *Le Nepal*. In 1907 he wrote a critical study of the Divyāvadāna and, in 1911, published fragments of Buddhist texts in the Kucheān language. In 1912 he wrote an important work on the Dhammapada recensions. During the same period he published the Śatapāñcāśatika-stotra and in 1912 discovered a legend of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka in the Tokharian language. In 1918 he brought out with Th. Stcherbatsky the first Kośasthāna of Yaśomitra's Sphuṭārthā and in the following year he discovered the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā. He also discovered the Mahākarma-vibhaṅga, a Sanskrit version of the Cūla-kamma-vibhaṅga-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya, and published it with its Chinese versions in 1932. During 1929—31 he published with Prof. J. Takakusu three fascicules of Hobogirin, and an encyclopaedic dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms, which unfortunately remained incomplete on account of the Second World War.

Sylvain Lévi's greatest discovery was the Sanskrit texts of the Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism while that of the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra was a milestone in Mahāyāna studies. His edition of this text with a French translation and an exposition of Vijñānavāda appeared in 1907. His other major discovery was the twin texts, the Viṃśatikā and the Triṃśatikā with their commentaries, which he published in 1925. In 1934 he edited with S. Yamaguchi the Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā, a systematic exposition of the Yogācāra-Vijñaptivāda as contained in Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya on the Madhyānta-vibhāga-sūtra of Maitreya. These works illuminated a dark period in Buddhist history and many

eminent scholars like Poussin, Stcherbatsky and others became interested in the study of Yogācāra which was the final phase of Buddhist philosophy in India.

Another great luminary of this period was Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin¹, a pupil of Sylvain Lévi and H. Kern. After completing his studies in linguistics at Louvain, he began his studies in Oriental subjects at the Sorbonne as a pupil of S. Lévi in 1891, and in the following years went to Leyden to study the Gāthā dialect with Prof. H. Kern. Here he studied Tibetan and Chinese, which opened for him a vast field of research. In 1893 he became a Professor at the University of Ghent, where he worked for about 35 years and carried on his studies in Buddhism, particularly in Sarvāstivāda Buddhism. In 1921 he organized the Société belge d'Etudes orientales. Under the title *Bouddhisme: Notes et Bibliographie*, he published learned reviews of new books on Oriental subjects. He also directed the editing of *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, to which he contributed several valuable articles on the Abhidharma. He contributed about thirty articles on different Buddhist topics to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Together with Ph. Colinet he edited and published *Le Museon* in which appeared some of his valuable editions like the Bodhicaryāvatāra, the Bodhisattvabhūmi, the Mādhyamakāvatāra, and the Viṃśika-kārikā-prakaraṇa of Vasubandhu. His other notable editions are the Pañcakrama (1896), the Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā (1901—1905), the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti (1903—1913) and the Mahā-niddesa (1916—1917).

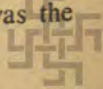
His greatest works, however, are his translations into French of the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu (1923—31) and the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Yuan Chwang (1930). He was a pioneer in the study of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. Very little was known about the teachings of this school until Poussin published his epoch-making translation of the Abhidharma-kośa with Vasubandhu's bhāṣya in

1. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 2.



seven parts. He very successfully reconstructed, on the basis of Chinese and Tibetan material, almost the whole of the text of the *kārikās* of the *Abhidharma-kośa*. The valuable and exhaustive notes with which the work is provided show that in this great scholar there was a unique combination of the linguist, the philosopher and the critic. Poussin opened the vast stores of thought that lay buried in a sealed chamber and filled a huge gap between the studies of early Pali works and the late *Sūnyavāda* doctrines. The publication of this work revolutionized Buddhist studies and gave rise to many controversial topics which engaged the attention of some eminent contemporaries like Mrs. Rhys Davids, Jean Przyluski and Th. Stcherbatsky. His thought-provoking *Nirvāṇa* (1925) propounded a novel view and brought severe criticism from Th. Stcherbatsky, an eminent Orientalist of Russia.

Th. Stcherbatsky, like Poussin, had worked for many years in the field of *Sarvāstivāda* and *Mahāyāna*. He was a close associate of Sylvain Lévi and had in 1917 edited the Tibetan text of the *Kośa* and its *bhāṣya* with the assistance of E. Obermiller, the editor of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra* (1929) and the *Uttara-tantra* (1931). In 1920 he published *Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, an English translation of Chapter IX of the *Kośa*. In 1923 he published a learned treatise, *Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word Dharma*. In this masterly work he established the fact that the theory of *skandha* was an element of ancient Buddhism and the pivot of the whole doctrine. In criticism of Poussin's *Nirvāṇa*, he brought out his famous work, *The Central Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, which was perhaps the last word on this most debated topic. His profound study of the *Kośa*, the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* and the later works on Buddhist logic are clearly reflected in this work, which gave for the first time a complete and constructive survey of the entire Buddhist philosophy. These preliminary treatises were followed by his monumental work, *Buddhist Logic*, in two volumes in 1932. It was the



first of its kind, exclusively based on the original works of such master minds as Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara.

In the preface to his first volume of *Buddhist Logic* he observes: "There is a widely spread prejudice that positive philosophy is to be found only in Europe. It is also a prejudice that Aristotle's treatment was final, that having had in this field no predecessor, he also had no need of a continuator." The publication of these two volumes not only removed this prejudice against Indian logic, but also crowned the vast and extensive Buddhist studies of the whole century.

Since the Pali Text Society had been publishing the Pali texts, it was not considered necessary to publish them in India, too. However, readers in India did not feel quite at home with the Roman characters in which these editions were published. There was need of a scholar with insight and inspiration who could make the Pali treasures accessible to the masses. This prime need was largely fulfilled by the late Dharmananda Kosambi, who, true to the Indian tradition, left his hearth and home in search of Truth and a Teacher and built up a tradition of Buddhist studies in his motherland.

His passionate zeal for knowledge and the teachings of the Buddha took him several times to Ceylon, Burma and distant parts of India. For a while he became a Śrāmaṇera in Ceylon (1902) and learnt Pali with the Rev. Sumangala of Vidyodaya College. He spent many years in Burma meditating like a true yogin. He was first discovered by Calcutta University where he served for a while in 1906, but his desire to teach Buddhism among his own people brought him to Maharashtra, where a chance meeting with Prof. J. H. Woods of Harvard University took him to America to edit the *Visuddhimagga*, a work which was left incomplete by the famous Warren, the author of *Buddhism in Translations*. This work he completed very successfully in 1932, although the volume was not published until 1950, long after the publication of his Devanāgarī edition of the work. For some years (1912—1918) he was Professor of Pali at

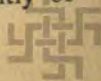


Fergusson College in Poona, where certain eminent scholars of our day had the privilege of studying with him. It is through these scholars that the Pali language found a place in the schools and colleges of the Deccan, and many Pali texts were published in Devanāgarī editions.

Dharmananda Kosambi was a sincere nationalist. For some years he served the National University of Gujarat started by Mahatma Gandhi, where he wrote several works on Buddhism in Marathi and Gujarati. Some of these are *Buddhacarita*, *Buddha-līlā-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Buddha Dharma āṇi Saṅgha*, *Samādhi-mārga*, *Jātaka-kathā*, *Buddha-Saṅgha-paricaya*, *Hindi Sanskr̥ti āṇi Ahimsā* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Together with a Marathi translation of the Suttanipāta and several other works, these were all written with a view to popularizing Pali studies and enlightening the masses about the Buddha. He also made valuable contributions in the field of Abhidharma. His *Navanīta-ṭīkā* on the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha and *Dīpikā* on the Visuddhimagga are of great help to students of Abhidharma. But the greatest contribution of this great scholar of Pali and lover of Buddhism is the Devanāgarī edition of the Visuddhimagga (1940) which was his life work.

Another scholar, the late Prof. C. V. Rajvade, who died very young at the age of 30, may also be mentioned. He was a worthy pupil of Dharmananda Kosambi. He edited, for the first time, in Devanāgarī characters the first fifty suttas of the Majjhima-nikāya, and the Hatthavanagalla-vihāravamsa, a small Pali text of the 13th century A.D. His Marathi translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, particularly of the first volume, shows his scholarship and critical acumen.

Professor Kosambi's contemporary, B. M. Barua, was another Indian who continued the Buddhist philosophical studies started by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusan. Dr. Barua's first work, *The History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, was an epoch-making publication. Through this work he placed early Buddhism in its real perspective and countered the tendency of studying Buddhism in isolation, independently of





Rajendralal Mitra
(1824-1891)



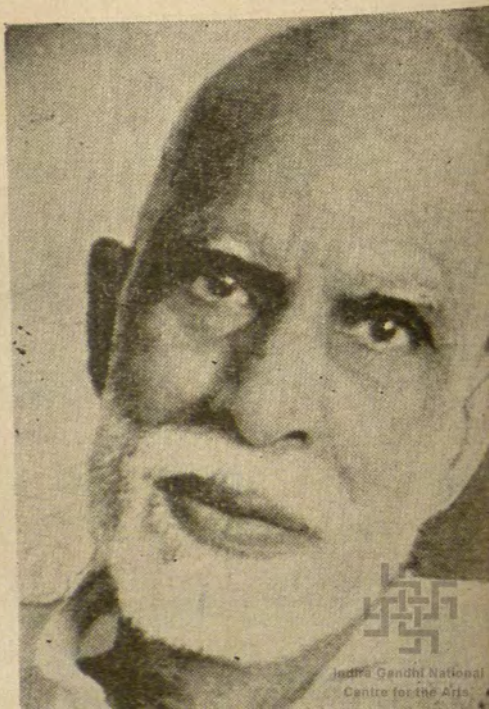
Anagarika Dharmapala
(1864-1933)





Hara Prasad Shastri
(1853-1931)

Dharmananda Kosambi
(1871-1947)



Jawahar Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

pre-Buddhist thought. His second work, *Ājīvikas*, brought to light a powerful ancient religious movement, now extinct in its motherland. His Prakrit Dhammapada was the fruit of great literary industry. Dr. Barua also wrote many valuable works on Buddhist inscriptions and history. His *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions* and *Ceylon Lectures* considerably advanced the study of the history of Buddhism.

The brilliant contributions of these eminent scholars bear testimony to the growing popularity of Buddhist literature and thought. They also point to the vitality of a culture which could command the wholehearted service of so many scholars of the East and the West.

In China

The Rev. T'ai-Hsu is recognized as the greatest Buddhist leader of the early 20th century in China. He was born in 1888 A.D. in the Chung-te district of Che-kiang Province which has remained Buddhist since Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century A.D. He was trained at the Tien T'ung Shan monastery under the well-known monk, Pa-chi, and then in the Monastery of Seven Pagodas where he studied the Tripitaka and practised meditation. He was deeply influenced by the teachings of T'ien-tai and the Avatamsaka school.

He was keenly interested in giving scientific training to Buddhist monks in China and wanted to reform the Buddhist Saṅgha of that country. He was a contemporary of celebrated scholars like Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, Sun Yat-sen, Carsun Chang and others. Among the institutions he founded are the Buddhist Congress of China (1911), the Buddhist Institute of Wuchang (1912), a preaching hall in a monastery of the Lu-shan Hills (1924), the Buddhist International Institute and a Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College (1930) on Mount Chin-yun, near Chungking, and the Young Men's Buddhist Association of China (1945). After his country's victory in



the Second World War, he went to Nanking and became the Chairman of the Buddhist Reformation Committee and applied himself to the reformation of the Chinese Saṅgha.

Being of a scholarly bent, he worked zealously in the cause of the education of Buddhists. Early in life at the age of twenty-one, he opened a centre of Buddhist education with the help of his teacher, Pa-chi, and undertook research in Buddhism in collaboration with the celebrated lay disciple of the Buddha, Yang Wen-hui. He later became the Director of the Buddhist Research Vihāra at Nanking. From 1912 to 1916, he was engaged in a comparative study of Buddhist literature and philosophy on the one hand and Western logic, philosophy and experimental science on the other. He was deeply interested in the Vijñāna-mātra (mere consciousness) philosophy which had also attracted the young non-Buddhist generation of China. He wrote books like *Evolution Rightly Explained*, *The Absolute Meaning of Philosophy*, and *New Conception about Education*, which inspired the modern Chinese youth. His views were propagated through a magazine called *Bodhi*, which has now changed its name to *Hai Chao Ying* (Ocean Tide Voice).

The Rev. T'ai-Hsu travelled extensively in Indo-China, Formosa, Japan, Europe and America which helped him to widen his vision. He called an International Buddhist Conference in 1924 at the Great Grove Monastery in the Lu-shan hills, and took part in several conferences like the East Asiatic Buddhist Conference in Japan (1925) and in 1938 formed a Buddhist goodwill mission which toured India, Burma, Ceylon and Thailand. He sent his disciples to India and Ceylon to study Buddhism from the original sources in Sanskrit and Pali. His insistence was more on the understanding of the Buddhist books than on their memorization. He also became the President of the Buddhist Institute of South Fu-kien. In 1947, after a most active career which was an inspiration to the younger generation, the Rev. T'ai-Hsu passed away in Shanghai at the age of fifty-nine while he was staying at the Monastery of Jodo Buddha in that city. He

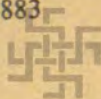
will long be remembered not only as a scholar but as an organizer and leader of the movement for Buddhist revival in China.

In Japan

The name of Jiun Sonja (1718—1804) is intimately connected with the initiation of Sanskrit studies on traditional lines in Japan. His importance lies in the fact that he studied Sanskrit by himself in the pre-Meiji period without being subjected to the influence of contemporary Western scholars or Indian paṇḍits.

Jiun Sonja was a monk of the Shingon sect. This sect was known for its tradition of learning Sanskrit characters in order to read the dhāraṇīs. This study was called Shittan Gaku ('shittan' is the transliteration of siddham which means completion) or the complete characters by which the highest doctrine is described. Naturally he learned this 'shittan' in his youth, but not being satisfied with this, he studied the Sanskrit language by himself and wrote several articles on Sanskrit grammar. At the same time, he read the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Horyuji and other monasteries, and compared them with their Chinese versions. Afterwards he published Sanskrit editions of three sūtras, namely the Sukhāvati-vyūha, the Bhadracārī-nāma-āryasamantabhadra-praṇidhāna, and the Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya. Moreover, he attempted to restore the Sanskrit text of the Prajñānaya from its Chinese version. This was a remarkable attempt and probably the first of its kind in the world. Jiun Sonja called his collection of articles on Sanskrit study 'Bongaku-shinryo' (A Guide to Sanskrit Study). Some important parts of this collection were published in 1953 at Osaka to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his death.

The credit of pioneering Sanskrit research on modern lines in Japan goes to Bunyiu Nanjio (1849-1927). He was sent abroad by the order of Higashi-hongan-ji, the head of the monastery of the Shin sect, to study under Max Müller at Oxford. During his stay in England, he produced in 1883



the well-known Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. He also published in collaboration with Prof. Max Müller such sūtras as the Vajracchedikā and the Sukhāvati-vyūha.

On his return to Japan in 1884, he began lecturing on Sanskrit studies at the Otani and Tokyo Universities. This was the beginning of Sanskrit and Indological studies at many of Japan's national and private universities.

During and after his term as a professor and later as President of Otani University, he edited the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka in collaboration with Dr. H. Kern of Holland and published the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra.

Junjiro Takakusu (1866—1945) succeeded B. Nanjio at Tokyo University. He also studied at Oxford under Max Müller. On his return to Japan, he became professor of Sanskrit literature and Indian philosophy at Tokyo University.

He wrote many articles in English and other languages which made him famous abroad. He published the following important works: The Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra (Engl. tr.), S.B.E., XLIX, 1894; *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (671—695 A.D.) by I-tsing (Engl. tr.), 1896, *The Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramārtha (Engl. tr.), P.T.S. edition, 1904; the Samanta-pāsādikā (P.T.S. edition in collaboration with M. Nagai), 1924—38; and *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* (Lectures at Hawaii University, U.S.A.), 1947. He was also the chief editor of Taisho-shin-shu-Daizokyo (the Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka).

He was both a great teacher and a great scholar. Among the many Indologists who worked under his guidance at Tokyo University were: Dr. H. Ui and Prof. E. Kanakura who specialized in Indian philosophy; the late Prof. T. Kimura, Dr. S. Miyamoto and Prof. S. Hanayama who worked on Buddhism; Dr. M. Nagai who was primarily interested in Pali literature and Prof. N. Tsuji who studied Vedic and Sanskrit literature. Takakusu also founded a Women's College in Tokyo, where the study of Buddhism occupied a prominent place.



Unrai Wogihara [1877 (?)—1947] learned Sanskrit in Germany under Dr. Leumann. He edited the Mahāyāna texts and among his notable works are the Mahāvvyutpatti, (Sanskrit-Chinese edition, 1915), the Bodhisattva-bhūmi (1930), the Sphutārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā (1932), the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-loka (1932—35) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (1934). As professor at Taisho University he began compiling a Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary in collaboration with K. Tsuchida and other members of the University staff, but this work was interrupted by the Second World War and his subsequent death.

He gave an impetus to the study of Sanskrit by publishing a Sanskrit grammar in Japanese.

Chizen Akanuma (1884—1937) was sent to England and Ceylon by Higashi-honagan-ji to study early Buddhism. In Ceylon, under the guidance of Nāṇissara Thera, he perfected his knowledge of Pali Buddhism. He thus became a pioneer in the field of Pali Buddhism in Japan. As professor in Pali Buddhism at Otani University, he published a number of books on Buddhist literature, among which the most well known are: *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas*, 1929, and *The Dictionary of Proper Names of Indian Buddhism*, 1931. He was responsible for a number of Japanese translations from the Pali Nikāyas and from the Abhidhamma. After his death, his disciples at Otani University collected his lectures and published them in three volumes.

PROGRESS OF BUDDHIST STUDIES: PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

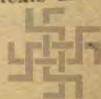
In Europe and America

The beginnings of Pali Buddhist studies in Europe may be traced as far back as 1826 when E. Burnouf and Christian Lassen published their essay upon Pali in French. The edition in Roman characters with an English translation (Cotta Church Mission Press, Ceylon, 1837) by George Turnour of



the first thirty-eight chapters of the well-known Chronicle of Ceylon called the Mahāvamsa marked the first important attempt by a European scholar to introduce Buddhist literature into the West. After some time Burmese and Sinhalese Buddhism was brought to the notice of European scholars by the publication, based on manuscripts in the vernacular languages, of the works of two Christian missionaries. These were the *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, *The Buddha of the Burmese* (1st edition, Rangoon, 1858) from the pen of Bishop P. Brigandet and the series of works by R. Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon, namely, *Eastern Monachism* (1850), *A Manual of Buddhism* (1st edition, 1860) and *Legends and Theories of the Buddhist compared with History and Science* (1866). An important advance was marked by the publication of the well-known *Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London, 1875) by a Ceylon civilian, Robert Caesar Childers. In Continental Europe, V. Fausböll brought out his great edition of the Jātakas in seven volumes (1877—97) and another Danish scholar, V. Trenckner, published his edition of the Milinda-pañha (London, 1880) while H. Oldenberg published his edition and translation of the Dīpavamsa (London, 1878), as well as his great edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka in five volumes (London, 1879—83). A great step forward was taken in 1881 when T. W. Rhys Davids, to whom Pali Buddhist studies in Europe owe more than to any other single scholar, started the Pali Text Society with a board of five members with himself as Chairman. The object of this renowned Society was to make available to students “the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the original manuscripts throughout this country (England) and the public libraries of Europe”. The Society has published to date the whole of Pali canonical and all the important works of the Pali non-canonical literature including commentaries¹. To the works of the first category belong the

1. Owing to limited space, only a few of the popular canonical texts and commentaries are mentioned here.



Dīgha-nikāya, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter (3 vols., 1889—1911), the *Majjhima-nikāya*, edited by V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers and Mrs. Rhys Davids (4 vols., 1888—1925), the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, edited by Léon Feer (6 vols., 1884—1904), the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, edited by R. Morris, E. Hardy and Mabel Hunt (6 vols., 1885—1910), the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, edited by Helmer Smith and Mabel Hunt (1915), the *Suttanipāta*, edited by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith (1913), and the *Thera-gāthā* and the *Therī-gāthā*, edited by H. Oldenberg and R. Pischel (1883). In the same class of canonical works published by the Society are included the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, edited by E. Müller (1885), the *Vibhaṅga*, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids (1904), and the *Kathā-vatthu*, edited by Arnold C. Taylor (2 vols., 1894, 1897). The commentaries on the Canon published by the Society include Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids, J. Estlin Carpenter and W. Stede (3 vols., 1886—1932), the commentaries on the *Majjhima-nikāya*, edited by J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi and I. B. Horner (5 vols., 1922—38), those on the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, edited by F. L. Woodward (3 vols., 1929—37), those on the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, edited by Max Walleser and Hermann Kopp (4 vols., 1924—40), the commentaries on the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, edited by Helmer Smith (1915), those on the *Suttanipāta*, edited by Helmer Smith (3 vols., 1916—18), those on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, edited by E. Müller (1885), *Dhammapāla*'s commentary on the *Udāna*, edited by F. L. Woodward (1926), those on the *Vimāna-vatthu*, edited by E. Hardy (1901), those on the *Peta-vatthu*, edited by E. Hardy (1894), those on the *Therī-gāthā*, edited by E. Müller (1882), those on the *Thera-gāthā*, still incomplete, edited by F. L. Woodward (2 vols., 1940, 1952), and lastly, the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, edited by H. C. Norman (5 vols., 1906—15). Other non-canonical works published by the Society include Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids (2 vols., 1920—21), the *Mahāvamsa* (1908) and the *Cūlavamsa* (2 vols., 1925—27), edited by Wilhelm Geiger.



The translations of Pali canonical and non-canonical works by European scholars went hand in hand with their publication of the original texts. The Vinaya-piṭaka was translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg (S.B.E., Vols. 13, 17, 20, 1881—85), while extracts from the same work were rendered into Russian by Minayeff (1870) and into German by Karl Seidenstücker (1924—25). A new translation of the Vinaya-piṭaka was published recently by I. B. Horner (5 vols., S.B.B., 1940—52). The Dīgha-nikāya was rendered into English in *Dialogues of the Buddha* (3 vols., 1899—1921), by T. W. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids and into German (4 vols., 1907—28) by K. E. Neumann, while extracts were published with a French translation (1876) by M. P. Grimblot and German translations by K. E. Neumann in 1911 and by R. Otto Franke in 1913. The Majjhima-nikāya was translated into German by K. E. Neumann (3 vols., 1896—1902), into Italian by K. E. Neumann and G. de Lorenzo (1907) and into English, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, by Lord Chalmers (2 vols., 1926—27). The Saṃyutta-nikāya was translated into English, *The Book of Kindred Sayings* (P.T.S., 5 vols., 1917—30), by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward, and into German (2 vols., 1925—30), by Wilhelm Geiger. The Aṅguttara-nikāya was rendered into German (5 vols., 1907—20), by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka (Anton Gueth), and into English, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare (P.T.S., 5 vols., 1932—36). The Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta were translated into English by Max Müller and V. Fausböll respectively (S.B.E., 10 vols., 1881). The Dhammapada was further rendered into German by A. Weber (1860), by Leopold von Schröder (1892), by Neumann (1893), by Dahlke (1919), by Walter Markgraf (1912), by R. Otto Franke (1923), into Italian by P. E. Pavolini (1908), into Polish by St. Fr. Michalski-Iwinski (1925), into French by Fernando Huc (1878) and by R. and M. de Maratray (1931). The English translations of the Dhammapada and the Itivuttaka (1935), by F. L. Wood-



ward and of the Vimāna-vatthu and the Peta-vatthu (1942), by Jean Kennedy and H. S. Gehman have appeared under the title *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*. The Suttanipāṭa was translated into German by K. E. Neumann (1905) and by Karl Seidenstücker (1931), into English by Lord Chalmers, along with the Pali text (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 37, 1932), and by E. M. Hare under the title *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists* (1945). K. E. Neumann translated the Thera-gāthā and the Therī-gāthā into German (1899) while Mrs. Rhys Davids translated the same into English in *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, *Psalms of the Sisters*, and *Psalms of the Brethren* (P.T.S., 1909, 1913). The first fasciculus of a new edition of the Pali Canon after the Cambodian version was published with an accompanying translation in French by J. Bloch, J. Filliozat, and L. Renou in 1949. A number of scholars under the editorship of E. B. Cowell translated the Jātakas into English in seven volumes (1895—1913) and the same work was translated into German by Julius Dutoit in seven volumes (1908—11). A few chapters (I—VI) of the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa were rendered into German by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka (1931—36). William Geiger assisted by Mabel Bode translated the Mahāvam̐sa into English (P.T.S., 1912) and the Cūlavam̐sa was translated into German by Wilhelm Geiger and re-translated from the German into English by Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers (P.T.S., 2 vols., 1929—30). The Milinda-pañha was translated into English (S.B.E., Vols. 35, 36, 1890—94), by T. W. Rhys Davids, into German by F. Otto Schröder in 1907 and Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka in 1924 and into French by L. Finot in 1923. Copious extracts from Pali canonical and non-canonical literature were translated by H. C. Warren in his work, *Buddhism in Translations* (H.O.S., 1896), and those from the Dhammapada commentary were translated similarly by E. W. Burlingame in his work called *Buddhist Legends* (H.O.S., 3 vols., 1921). The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921—25), has been followed by



Critical Pali Dictionary by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith, of which only one volume in nine parts (Copenhagen, 1927—28) has been published so far. We may also mention the publication of *Pali Tipiṭaka Concordance*. Vol. 1, prepared by scholars like Woodward and others, and edited by E. M. Hare. This was brought out by the Pali Text Society in 1952—55 and has proved very useful to Buddhist scholars.

The foundations of the study of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and mixed Sanskrit were laid by B. H. Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal (1821—43), who utilized his long stay in that country to make a very valuable collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts which he afterwards divided between the libraries of Calcutta, London and Paris. He also wrote papers in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 16 (1828), and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, Vol. 3 (1828), on topics connected with his collection. About the same time a Hungarian scholar, Alexander Csoma de Körös, made a daring journey (1818—23) from his native Transylvania to India and having learnt Tibetan from the monks of Ladakh wrote his Tibetan grammar and his Tibetan dictionary (1834) and published his famous 'Analysis of the Kanjur' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 20, 1836). The first comprehensive survey of Sanskrit Buddhism based upon the Hodgson collection at Paris was made in French by E. Burnouf in *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism* (1st edition, Paris, 1844). He also published in French the first translation of the well-known work of Mahāyāna Buddhism called the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (1852). Simultaneously the study of Chinese Buddhism was inaugurated by such works as the French translation of the Mongol version of Kāśyapa Mātāṅga's Sūtra of 42 Sections by Gabet and Huc (*J.A.*, 1848) and the French translation of the Chinese version of a lost Sanskrit collection of the Avadānas, by Stanislas Julien (3 vols., 1859). Again while A. Weber introduced the great poet Aśvaghoṣa to the West by publishing the text and the translation of the Vajrasūcī (1859), A. Schiefner opened up a rich mine of historical tradition by his translation into German of Tārānātha's his-



tory of Buddhism (1869). Wassiljew, in his great work in German on Buddhism, has given copious extracts from the Avataṃsakas, the Ratnakūṭas and the Dhāraṇīs of the Chinese Buddhist Canon as well as the Chinese versions of the biographies of the great poets and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. We may also mention here Obermiller's English translation of Bu-ston's history of Buddhism in Tibetan (Vols. I and II, 1931—32). Texts from the Chinese Buddhist Canon were translated in a series of works (1871—78) by Samuel Beal, who also published (S.B.E., XIX, 1883) a translation of the Chinese version of Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita. Other important landmarks of this period were the French translation of the Lalitavistara from its Tibetan version (2 vols., 1884, 1892), by P. E. Foucaux, and the translation into French of Körös' 'Analysis of the Kanjur' with numerous additions by Léon Feer (1881). A beginning was made in the publication of the class of Mahāyāna works called the Prajñā-pāramitās by the editions and translations of selected texts by Max Müller (S.B.E., Vol. 49, Oxford, 1881, 1884).

In the period that followed great advances were made in the study of every branch of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature in the original as well as in the Tibetan, Chinese and other versions. As regards the Sanskrit Canon, a great edition of the Mahāvastu was published with a valuable survey of its contents and important comments by E. Sénart (3 vols., 1882—97) while S. Lefmann brought out his edition of the Lalitavistara (2 vols., 1902—1908), thereby superseding the earlier edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. The Tibetan version of the Udāna-varga of Dharmatrāta was translated into English by W. W. Rockhill (1883) and edited by H. Beckh (1911). Among the Mahāyāna sūtras of the Ratnakūṭa class the Kāśyapa-parivarta was edited from the original Sanskrit with its parallel Tibetan and Chinese versions by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein (1926) while another text called the Bhadramāyā-kāra-vyākaraṇa, based upon Chinese and Tibetan versions, was edited and translated into English by



K. Regamoy in 1938. Recently J. J. Jones published an English translation of the Mahāvastu in two volumes (1949—52). As regards the poet Aśvaghoṣa and his school, the Buddhacarita was edited by E. B. Cowell (Oxford, 1893) and was translated into English by the same scholar (S.B.E., 49, 1894). It was translated into German by Th. Schultze, after Beal's translation of the Chinese version (1895), by Hans Ludwig (1912), by Carl Cappeller (1922), and by Richard Schmidt (1923), while the Tibetan text with its German translation was published by Friedrich Weller (2 vols., 1926, 1928). It was translated into Italian by Carlo Formichi (1912). A new edition as well as a translation of the Buddhacarita was published by E. H. Johnston (1936). The same scholar brought out an edition (1928) and an English translation (1932) of Aśvaghoṣa's second great epic called the Saundarānanda. The work called the Sūtrālaṅkāra, which is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, but is really the Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā of Kumāralāṭa, was translated into French after the Chinese version of Kumārajīva by Ed. Huber (1908), while the Tibetan version of a second work attributed to the same poet, namely, the Gaṇḍī-stotragāthā was published with the reconstructed Sanskrit text by Baron a von Staël-Holstein (1913). The Jātakamālā of the poet Āryaśūra was edited by H. Kern (H.O.S., 1891) and translated into English by J. S. Speyer (1893—94). In the branch of Avadāna literature the Divyāvadāna (from which long extracts had been translated before by Burnouf in his Introduction) was edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil (1886), while the Avadāna-śataka was edited by J. S. Speyer (*Bibl. Bud.*, 2 vols., 1906, 1909) and translated into French by Léon Feer (1891). In the field of what may properly be called Mahāyāna canonical literature, the two works bearing the title Sukhāvatī-vyūha were edited by Max Müller and B. Nanjio (Oxford, 1883) and translated by the former (S.B.E., Vol. 49, 1894). The Saddharama-puṇḍarīka was edited by H. Kern and B. Nanjio (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1912) and was translated into English by Kern (S.B.E., Vol. 21, 1884). A new edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, based upon the



Nepalese manuscripts and the Chinese version, has been planned by W. Baruch and a preparatory study of the same was published in German in 1938. The *Suvarṇaprabhā-sottama-sūtra* was edited by J. Nobel (1937) in the original Sanskrit with the help of its Tibetan, Chinese and Uigur versions. The Tibetan version of this work was translated into German by the same scholar (1944). The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* was edited in the original Sanskrit along with its Tibetan version and a French translation by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1907—11), while a valuable glossary of this work after its Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions was published by J. Rahder¹ (1928-29).

As regards the poets and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the *Mādhyamika-kārikās* of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the *Mādhyamika* school, were translated after the Tibetan version by Max Walleser (1911) and the Sanskrit text was edited with its commentary by Candrakīrti by Vallée Poussin (1903—13), while extracts from this work and its commentary were translated into English by Th. Stcherbatsky (1927) and into German by St. Schayer (1929—31). The commentary of Nāgārjuna on *Pañcaviṃśa-prajñā-pāramitā*, called the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, has been described (*J.A.*, 1950, p. 377) as a kind of encyclopaedia of Buddhist India in the first centuries of the Christian era. The first two volumes of a projected complete French translation of this great work, after the Chinese version, along with the translator's copious notes, have been published (1944, 1949) by E. Lamotte. The *Yuktiṣaṭikā* of Nāgārjuna was translated into German from the Chinese version by Philip Schäffer (1923—1924). A complete translation (in Italian) of the *Chatuṣṣataka* of Āryadeva was brought out (1925) by G. Tucci from the Tibetan version. The Sanskrit text of the *Abhisamayā-lānkāra-prajñāpāramitā* of Maitreyanātha, the founder of the *Yogācāra* school, was edited along with its Tibetan version and an English translation and explanatory notes by

1. The Sanskrit text has also been edited by Dr. J. Rahder (*Société belge d'Etudes orientales*).



Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (1929). The commentary *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-āloka* of Haribhadra on this work was published by G. Tucci (G.O.S., 1932). The Sanskrit text of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* with a Sanskrit-Tibetan index was published recently (1954) by E. Conze. The *Madhyānta-vibhāga-sūtra* of Maitreya-nātha with the sub-commentary of Sthiramati was edited in part by V. Bhattacharya and G. Tucci (1932). The *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, attributed to Asaṅga by its editor, but probably written by Maitreya-nātha, was edited with a French translation by S. Lévi (2 vols., 1907, 1911). The *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha* of Asaṅga was edited after the Tibetan and Chinese versions along with a translation and editor's note in French (2 vols., 1938-39), by E. Lamotte. The *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu has been called a general manual for Hīnayāna Buddhism. A complete annotated translation in French of this great work, based upon the Tibetan and the Chinese versions, was published (1923-24) by Vallée Poussin. *Bhāvaviveka's* commentary on the *Mādhyamika-sūtra*, entitled the *Prajñā-pradīpa* was published in its Tibetan version by Max Walleser (1914) and Buddha-pālita's commentary on the same work called the *Mūla-madhyamakā-vṛtti* was edited by the same scholar (1913-14). The texts of Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* and Āryadeva's *Śata-śāstra* were edited after the Chinese version by G. Tucci (G.O.S., 1929). The *Ālambana-parīkṣā* of Dinnāga ("One of the foremost figures in the history of Indian logic") was edited after the Tibetan text along with a translation in German by E. Frauwallner (1930), while his *Nyāya-mukha* was translated into English from its Chinese and Tibetan versions by G. Tucci (1930). His *Nyāya-praveśa* was reconstructed from Haribhadra's commentary and the Chinese and Tibetan versions by N. D. Mironov (1931). To Th. Stcherbatsky belongs the credit of editing the *Nyāya-bindu* of Dharmakīrti with Dharmottara's commentary (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1918), and with the sub-commentary of Mallavādin (1909) as well as that of publishing its translation into Russian (1903) and into English, *Buddhist Logic*, Vols. 1 and 2 (1930). The Tibe-



tan version of the same work with Vinītadeva's commentary was published by L. de la Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1908—1913). Among other works by the same author, the Santānāntara-siddhi with Vinītadeva's commentary was edited by Th. Stcherbatsky (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1916) and translated with explanatory notes by the same scholar (1922). His Sambandha-parikṣā (Tibetan and Sanskrit texts) with the commentary of Śankarānandana and his Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi were translated into German by E. Frauwallner (1934, 1935). The Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti was edited after the Tibetan version by Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1912) after having been translated with the author's commentary into French by the same scholar (1907—11). Among still later works, Śantideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya was edited by C. Bendall (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1902) and was translated into English by C. Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse (Indian Texts Series, 1922). The Bodhicaryāvatāra by the same author was edited with the commentary of Prajñākaramati by Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1901—14). It was translated into French by Vallée Poussin (1907) and by L. Finot (1920), into German by Richard Schmidt (1923) and into Italian by G. Tucci. The Mongolian version of this work was published (*Bibl. Bud.*) in 1921. Selected texts of the Prajñā-pāramitā class of works were published by Max Walleser (1914) and G. Tucci (1923). Equal progress has been made in the publication of catalogues, dictionaries and bibliographies. An encyclopaedic dictionary of Buddhism after the Chinese and Japanese sources called Hobogirin was started in 1929 under the direction of S. Lévi and J. Takakusu and the chief editorship of Paul Demiéville. Three fasciculi of this work were published up to 1937. Mention may be made in this connection of *Index* of the *Tanjur* after the catalogue of P. Cordier, published by M. Lalou (Paris, 1933), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts* in the library of the India Office (London) with a supplement of Buddhist manuscripts by F. W. Thomas (Oxford, 1935) and *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* by W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous (London, 1937). Above all, reference should

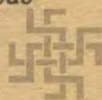


be made to the comprehensive work called *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, Dictionary, and Reader* (3 vols., 1953) by Prof. Franklin Edgerton, which is the first systematic study on the subject. A reference may also be made to the books on Buddhist bibliography—that of Hans Ludwig Held (*Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus*, 1916), that of Arthur C. March (*Buddhist Bibliography*, 1935-36), and lastly, *Bibliographie Bouddhique* (1928—50) published in French.

Meanwhile the field of Buddhist Sanskrit studies was greatly enlarged by the discoveries of numerous records of the lost civilization of Central Asia by a series of international expeditions, beginning with the first journey of Sir Aurel Stein (1900—1901), financed largely by the Government of India. These discoveries have made possible the recovery of considerable fragments of the Sanskrit Buddhist canonical and noncanonical literature in their original Sanskrit or in the different languages of Eastern Turkestan. As for the Sanskrit Buddhist records from Central Asia, selected Buddhist texts were edited by S. Lévi (*J. A.*, 1910) and by Vallée Poussin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, 1912, 1913). In *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (edited by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Vol. I, Oxford, 1916), Hoernle, Lüders, Pargiter and F. W. Thomas published with parallel versions the text and translation of the fragments, found in Eastern Turkestan, of no less than twenty-six Buddhist texts from the Sanskrit Canon, of which no less than twenty-one belong to the Vinaya and the Sūtrapitāka of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, while two are stotras of the celebrated poet Mātṛceṭa. In a series of publications in German called *Smaller Sanskrit Texts*, H. Lüders published the fragments of three Sanskrit Buddhist dramas, including the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa of Aśvaghōṣa (1911), as well as those of Kalpanāmaṇḍīṭikā of Kumāralāṭa (1926), while E. Waldschmidt edited the fragments of the Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādin school (1926) and the first volume of fragments of the Buddhist sūtras from the Central Asian Sanskrit Canon (1932). Other fragments of this Canon, with parallel texts



in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, were published by H. Hoffmann (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1939). Fragments of the Sanskrit Udāna-varga of Dharmatrāta were published by R. Pischel (S.B.A., 1908), S. Lévi and Vallée Poussin (*J.A.*, 1910—12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1911—12). E. Waldschmidt published other fragments of the Sanskrit Canon with the parallel Tibetan and Chinese versions, namely, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (3 vols., 1950—51) and the Mahāvadāna-sūtra (Part 1, 1953). The Sanskrit text of the Sata-pañcāsatika, a hymn of 150 verses, of the poet Mātṛceṭa was published with its Tibetan and Chinese versions and the Tibetan commentary by D. B. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, 1951). As regards the records preserved in the newly discovered Indo-European language of Central Asia, S. Lévi published with a French translation a series of texts in the 'Tokharian A' or more properly the 'Kuchean' dialect (Paris, 1933), while E. Sieg and W. Siegling edited another series of texts in the sister dialect called 'Tokharian B' or more properly Kara-shahrian (1921). Among the Buddhist records preserved in the newly discovered Soghdian and Khotanese, less properly called Śaka or North-Aryan, branches of the old Iranian language, fragments were published by E. Leumann in his German works called *North-Aryan Language and Literature* (1912), *Maitreyasamiti* (1919) and *Buddhist Literature, North-Aryan and German* (1920). Another work in German called *The North-Aryan (Śaka) Didactic Poem of Buddhism* was published with a translation, based on E. Leumann's work, by Manu Leumann (1933—34). Fragments of Buddhist manuscripts in Soghdian from the Turfan collection were published by W. Lentz (1934) out of the literary remains of F. W. K. Müller. The transcript and translation of Soghdian manuscripts in the British Museum were published by H. Reichelt in two volumes, of which the first volume (1928) deals with Buddhist texts. In his French work on Soghdian texts, E. Benveniste published twenty-three texts, mostly Buddhist, with translations and notes (1940). In the work, *Manuscript Remains*, mentioned above, Sten Konow pub-



lished two complete Khotanese manuscripts with an English translation and parallel Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. An edition of the Khotanese Dharmapada was published by H. W. Bailey (1945) and a volume of Khotanese Buddhist texts was edited by the same scholar (1951). Buddhist texts in Uigurian, an old Turkish language, were published by F. W. K. Müller in various German journals (1908—31). The Uigur text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* was published by W. Radloff (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1913—15) and translated into German by the same scholar (1930). A series of texts was published (1930—31) by W. Bang and A. von Gabain in the series called Uigurish Studies and Uigurica.

In the East

1. *India*.—Among the factors which were largely responsible for directing the attention of the Indian intelligentsia towards the study of India's past, and particularly the study of the Buddha's life and that of the Buddhist religion, were the works of early Indologists like Sir William Jones (1746—94) and H. T. Colebrook who arrived in Calcutta in 1782. Later, in 1847, Christian Lassen published in German his work on Indian antiquities. The public interest received further stimulus through the discovery of sites connected with the history of Buddhism in northern India by explorers and archaeologists like Prinsep (1799—1843) and Cunningham. Works like *Buddha Gaya* (1874), *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (1882) and *Lalitavistara* (1887) by Rajendralal Mitra, the accounts of the travels of Sarat Chandra Das in Tibet and the publication by him of some Buddhist works also aroused considerable interest in Buddhist studies.

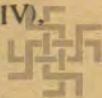
The Buddhist Text Society was founded in 1892 and work in the field of Buddhist studies started in Bengal. An account of the pioneer work done in this sphere in Bengal is given elsewhere in this chapter. Besides Sarat Chandra Das and Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri was also a stalwart in this field of scholarship. His *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* (1716) made



Bengali scholars realize the need for Buddhist studies. *Advayavajra-saṅgraha*, a work he published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series (No. 60, 1927), contains twenty small works of Advayavajra, a teacher of the Ādikarmapradīpa school of the 11th century. He also edited the *Catuḥśatikā* in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III. His works are especially valued for their learned introductions.

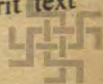
The work started by these pioneers in Bengal is being continued by several living scholars among whom may be mentioned Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekhar Shastri of Santiniketan and of Calcutta University. He is well known for his studies in Pali, Sanskrit and Tibetan. He wrote *Pali Prakāśa*, a Pali grammar in Bengali, *Pātimokkha* with notes in Bengali and a few chapters of the *Milinda-pañha* which were published in Bengali script with a Bengali translation. To him also goes the credit for having edited the *Mahāyāna-viṃśikā* of Nagarjuna, Āryadeva's *Catuḥśatikā*, which he retranslated into Sanskrit from Tibetan (Visva-Bharati, 1931), the Tibetan text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* (G.O.S. No. 39, 1927), the *Bhoṭa-prakāśa* (Cal. Univ., 1939), an excellent introductory book for a student of Sanskrit wishing to learn Tibetan and the *Āgama-śāstra* of Gauḍapāda (Cal. Univ., 1943), which according to him shows definite Buddhist influence. Furthermore, his *Basic Conception of Buddhism* (1934) is a very lucid exposition of the fundamentals of Buddhism. Even at his age he is working on the Sanskrit text of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* and it is expected that it will soon see the light of day.

Dr. B. C. Law, a veteran and versatile scholar in the various branches of Indology—Buddhism, Jainism, History, Geography and the Sociology of Ancient India—has to his credit more than fifty-five volumes. His *History of Pali Literature* in two volumes (1933) and his work on Buddhaghosa are well known to students of Pali literature. He has edited in Pali the *Thūpavaṃsa* (P.T.S., 1935), the *Dāṭhāvamsa* (text and English translation, 1925) and the *Cariyā-piṭaka* (revised edition, in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series, Vol. IV).



the last two in the Nagari script. He has also translated these texts. His independent books, *Study of Mahāvastu*, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, *Concept of Buddhism*, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, show keen insight. He has translated into English the Buddhavaṃsa, the Commentary on the Kathā-vatthu (*Debates Commentary*, 1940) and the Sāsanavaṃsa (1952). He has written memoirs on Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha, Kauśāmbī and Pañcālas as well as monographs on the Magadhas of Ancient India, Asvaghōṣa and on the Chronicles of Ceylon. His two books, *Tribes in Ancient India* (B.O.S., No. 4) and *Mountains and Rivers of India* are very useful to students of Ancient India. His collection of essays in *Indological Studies* (Parts 1—3, 1950—54), and his *Historical Geography of Ancient India* are also a mine of information for students of Indology. A striking characteristic of all his work is that he carefully supplies references to substantiate his statements.

The late Prof. Barua, a worthy colleague of Dr. B. C. Law, was the head of the Pali Department at Calcutta University for a number of years and we have already given some account of his works elsewhere. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt was his successor. His *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* (1930) gives to students of Buddhism a clear idea of the evolution of Buddhism from the simple teachings of the Buddha contained in the early texts of the orthodox school to the highly abstruse philosophical tenets of the Mahāyāna school. He has edited the Pañcaviṃśati Prajñāpāramitā (1934) and what is most creditable is the fact that he discovered and brought to light a large collection of Gilgit Manuscripts, which he has now published in eight volumes. The important texts contained in these volumes are the Samādhirāja-sūtra and the Vinaya-vastu (unfortunately incomplete) of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school. The latter text is a remarkable discovery as it brings to light a Sanskrit text of the Vinaya corresponding to the Pali Vinaya. A comparative study of these two Vinayas reveals clearly the chronological relation between the two, namely, that the Sanskrit text



is indicative of a later and more developed form of the monastic institution of the Buddhists. From the linguistic point of view also, these texts reveal that they must have been based upon some Pali-Prakrit original as the idioms used in them are those of Pali-Prakrit texts. As in the case of several Buddhist Sanskrit works, they reveal incorrect Sanskritization of the Pali-Prakrit words. Care has been taken by Dr. Dutt to supply corresponding Tibetan readings at places where the Sanskrit original is not clear. He has also given indexes but one is rather disappointed at their meagreness. His *Early Monastic Buddhism* in two volumes (1941—45) will be found readable even by laymen. He has also published the first three chapters of the *Sphuṭārthā-abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā*. He has edited another Buddhist text, the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, for the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series (1952), with N. D. Mironov's readings from the Central Asian Manuscripts.

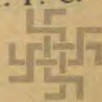
The University of Calcutta has produced several Buddhist scholars. Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the former Director-General of Archaeology, has to his credit *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit* (Paris, 1930). Prof. Satkari Mookerjee has given us *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux* (Calcutta, 1936). The late Dr. P. C. Bagchi has given us *Studies in the Tantras* (Cal. Univ., 1939) and two works on Sanskrit Lexicography (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, 1929, 1937). His main work, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* (1927, 1938), is highly useful inasmuch as it gives us information about the books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has added to our knowledge of Buddhism in Greater India by his *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan* (1928) and by his highly informative article, "Progress of Greater Indian Research (1917—42)", in the *Progress of Indic Studies* (Poona, 1942). Nagendranath Vasu has written *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* (Cal. Univ., 1911). Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee has made a study of the different sects of Buddhism and given the Sanskrit text of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school from a Gilgit



manuscript (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1953). Dr. B. R. Chatterjee tells us how Indian culture, both as Brahmanism and Buddhism, penetrated into Cambodia in his *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* (1928). Prof. R. C. Majumdar treats the same subject in his books, *Champā* (1937) and *Suvarṇadvīpa* (1938). He has recently published in Nāgarī characters *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (1953) which throws light on the condition of Buddhism in that country. Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has written *Sanskrit Buddhism* (1936) and *Theravāda Buddhism* (1946) which deal with Buddhism in Burma. R. C. Mitra of Santiniketan gives us the history of the decay of Buddhism in his *Decline of Buddhism in India* (1955) while Prof. Gokuldas De has written a book, *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha* (1955). Manindra Mohan Bose has given us an account of the later forms of Buddhism in Bengal in his *Post-Chaitanya Sahajīya Cult of Bengal* (1930). S. Yamakami's book, *System of Buddhist Thought* (1912), traces the growth of thought in Buddhist philosophy of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools.

In order to popularize the study of Pali books generally, some texts were printed in Bengali script and several were translated into the Bengali language. Among the former may be mentioned the Thera-gāthā, the Therī-gāthā, the Majjhima, the Mūla-pañṇāsaka, the Mahāvagga, the Buddhavaṃsa, the Dīgha, Vol. I, the Pācittiya, and the Udāna published by the Buddhist Mission in Rangoon. Among the Bengali translations are those of the Jātakas by Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of the Dhammapada by Charu Chandra Ghosh, of the Thera and Therī-gāthā by Bejoy Chandra Majumdar, of the Suttanipāta by Bhikku Shala Bhadra and of the Udāna and the Majjhima. This shows that even common people are interested in reading Pali books in translation, if not in the original.

Among the important centres of Buddhist studies in eastern India are Santiniketan in West Bengal and Patna and Nalanda in Bihar. Under the direction of Prof. Vidhushekhar Shastri in the early years and of the late Dr. P. C.



Bagchi since 1945, research in Sanskrit-Tibetan and Sanskrit-Chinese studies was conducted at Cheenabhavan and Vidyabhavan, two well-known research institutions. Several valuable papers and books have appeared in the Visva-Bharati Series and the Visva-Bharati Studies since 1932; in the Visva-Bharati Annals since 1947; and in the Sino-Indian Studies since 1945. In Vol. V of Visva-Bharati Annals a scholarly study by Shri K. Venkatramanan has appeared in the form of an English translation of the *Sāmmitiya-nikāya-śāstra*. In the volumes of Sino-Indian Studies Dr. Bachow (now at Ceylon University) has given us comparative studies of the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta* and of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*¹. Prof. Aiyyaswamy Shastri has retranslated into Sanskrit several Tibetan and Chinese translations of original Sanskrit texts that have disappeared. Some of the important works of this type are the *Ālambana-parīkṣā* and its *Vṛtti* by Dinnāga (1942), the *Sālistamba-sūtra* (1950), the *Karalalaratna* of Bhāvaviveka (1949) and the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* (1955) of Nāgārjuna. Prof. Shantibhikshu Shastri has written *Mahāyāna* (1950) in Hindi and has given his own Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese translations of Vasubandhu's *Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra* (1949), of Ghōṣaka's *Abhidharmāmṛta* (1953) and the first two chapters of the *Jñāna-prasthāna*, to be followed by the rest. Shri Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya has given us the *Tri-svabhāva-nirdeśa* (1939) of Vasubandhu, the *Śārdūla-karṇāvadāna* (1955) and a Bengali translation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (1947).

Prof. Pralhad Pradhana of Orissa has given us a Devanāgarī edition from an incomplete manuscript of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* (1950). It is understood that he has also prepared a Devanāgarī edition of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* from a manuscript now at Patna in the collection of Rahul Sankrityayan. This is expected to be published soon by the Kashiprasada Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna. Another manuscript from the same collection, the

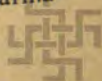
1. This has now appeared as a separate volume, published (1955) by the Sino-Indian Society, Santiniketan.



Abhidharma-pradīpa, is being edited for that Institute by Prof. Padmanabh Jaini of Banaras. In 1953 that Institute published the Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya or the Vārtika-alaṅkāra, edited by Rahul Sankrityayana, and the Dharmotara-pradīpa of Durveka, edited by Prof. Malvania. Other Vinaya texts of the Lokottaravāda school—the Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka and the Bhikṣuṇī-prakīrṇaka—have been traced to the same collection and it is understood that Dr. A. D. Altekar, Honorary Director of that Institute, is taking steps to have them published in the near future. Another Buddhist Sanskrit Tāntric text, the Ratnagotra-vibhāga, has been edited by Dr. Johnston and published in Patna.

The Government of Bihar has started a Pali Institute at Nalanda under the direction of the Rev. Jagadish Kashyap and the Government of India has entrusted to it the work of publishing the Pali Tripiṭaka. The first work undertaken by the Institute is the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya.

In Uttar Pradesh, the workers of the Mahābodhi Sabhā at Sarnath have given us several Buddhist texts—both Pali texts in the Devanāgarī script and Hindi translations of Pali books. The great explorer, Rahul Sankrityayana, with the help of his colleagues, Anand Kausalyayana and Jagadish Kashyap, has given us in Devanāgarī characters eleven books of the Khuddaka-nikāya, with the exception of Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidā and Apadāna. Rahul Sankrityayana has also given us a Hindi translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, the Majjhima-nikāya and the Vinaya (the Pātimokkha, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga). In addition he has written in Hindi a book entitled *Buddhacaryā*, which includes a life of the Buddha, along with Hindi translations of several Pali suttas. The Rev. Ananda Kausalyayan has given us a Hindi translation of 500 Jātakas in six volumes which have already been published. The rest are expected to follow shortly. The Rev. Jagadish Kashyap has translated into Hindi the Milinda-pañha (1937) and the Udāna (1938) and given us an excellent edition of the Moggallāna-Vyākaraṇa along with its Hindi translation (1940). Bhikṣu Dharma-



ratna is credited with a Hindi translation and a Devanāgarī edition of the Suttanipāṭa (1951). The first 150 Jātakas have been edited by Bhikkhu Dhammarakkhita and brought out by the Bharatiya Jñāna-pīṭha in Devanāgarī characters (Banaras, 1944). The Saṃyutta-nikāya has been translated into Hindi in two volumes by Bhikshus J. Kashyap and Dharmarakshita. The latter has also translated the Dhammapada with illustrative stories. The Therī-gāthā in Hindi by Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, the Pali Jātakāvali by Batuknath Sharma and the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, text and Hindi translation, by Bhikshu Kittima (Sarnath, 1941) are other important publications.

In the field of Sanskrit Buddhist books, Rahul Sankritya- yana has made an effort to restore the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā (1931) with the help of Yaśomitra's commentary, Sphuṭārthā-abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā, and with the help of the notes in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's translation of the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā with a bhāṣya. He has also given the Sanskrit texts of the Vādanyāya (1936), the Pramāṇa-vārtika and the Vārtikālaṅkāra (Patna, 1953), besides publishing *Buddha-darśana* in Hindi. On the same subject there exists a very fine book in Hindi, *Bauddha Darśana-mīmāṃsā*, by Pandit Baldeva Upadhyaya (Chaukhamba Series, Banaras, 1954) and *Saugata Siddhāntasāra-saṅgraha* with a Hindi translation by Dr. Chandradhar Sharma (Banaras). The late Acarya Narendradeva, another scholar of Uttar Pradesh, prepared a Hindi translation of La Vallée Poussin's French translation of the Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya. Only the first chapter of this book has been printed so far. Dr. Herbert V. Guenther of Lucknow University has tried in his book, *Yuganaddha* (Chaukhamba Series, 1952), to remove certain misconceptions about the exact import of what appear to an uninitiated reader to be corrupt Tāntric practices. Like Anagarika Govinda, he points out the symbolic nature of various statements in the Tantric texts. Anagarika Govinda, who has adopted this country for his mother-land, has shown us the psychological nature of the

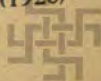


Buddhist philosophy of Abhidhamma in his Patna University Lectures for 1927 (*The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*). In his *Some Aspects of Stūpa Symbolism* (Kitabistan, Allahabad), he has revealed certain secrets in the construction of Buddhist stūpas and given their symbolic interpretation. Prof. T. R. V. Murti, now of Banaras Hindu University, has given a study of the Mādhyamika system in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (1955).

Dr. Chou Hsiang Kuang, Head of the Chinese Department of Allahabad University, recently gave us *A History of Chinese Buddhism* (1955), which tells the story of Indo-Chinese relations since the introduction of Buddhism in China. It throws light on the state of Buddhism in different parts of China and its rise and fall through the centuries. The life of Yuan Chwang is a useful appendix to the book, but it is disappointing that no index has been given.

Dr. Raghu Vira, of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, recently undertook tours of exploration in China, Mongolia and Central Asia and is reported to have been successful in securing copies of a translation of the Chinese Tripiṭaka into the Mongolian and Manchurian languages and in securing several Mongolian paintings and statues.

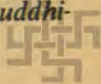
Bombay, Poona and Baroda are the active centres of Buddhist studies in western India. Elsewhere is given an account of the life of the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, the pioneer of Buddhist studies, especially in Pali, in western India. His pupils have been working at all these centres, and with the sympathy and encouragement given to Buddhist studies by the late Sayajirao Maharaja, the ruler of Baroda, several books were published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series under the direction of B. Bhattacharya. There have also been published some texts of Buddhist logic and philosophy like the *Nyāyapraveśa* (1930), edited by A. B. Dhruv, *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Works on Logic* (1930) from the Chinese by Prof. Tucci, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* (1926)



of *Śāntarakṣita*, edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya, with its translation (1937, 1939) in separate volumes by Dr. Ganganath Jha. Some Tāntric works, too, such as the *Advayavajra-saṅgraha* (1927), edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, *Two Vajrayāna Works* (1929), *Śrī-guhyasamāja-tantra* (1931), and the *Sādhana-mālā* (1925, 1928), edited by B. Bhattacharya have been brought out in the same series. B. Bhattacharya also published a book entitled *Buddhist Esoterism* (1932). Prof. C. V. Joshi has given us *Manual of Pali* for Pali students. He has also edited for the Pali Text Society the *Saddhammappakāsinī* (1933—47), the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidā-magga*, translated several *Jātaka* stories into Marathi and written a life of the Buddha for children. In addition, he has edited the Marathi translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, Vols. II and III, by the late Prof. C. V. Rajwade.

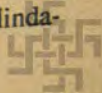
The University of Bombay has undertaken to publish Pali books in the Devanāgarī script for the use of University students, under the general editorship of Prof. N. K. Bhagvat of St. Xavier's College. Of the ten books so far brought out, the *Milinda-pañha*, edited by Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, is generally considered to be the best. The remaining works, the *Nidānakathā* (of the *Jātakas*), the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Dīgha* (Vols. I and II), the *Majjhima*, the *Thera-gāthā*, the *Therī-gāthā* and the *Mahāvagga* in two volumes have all been edited by Prof. Bhagvat himself. He has also brought out editions of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Dhammapada* (published by the Buddha Society, Bombay), the *Paritta*, a few selections from the *Jātakas* (*Jātaka-kathā-sandoha*), and the *Buddhaghosuppatti*.

Prof. P. V. Bapat, successor to the late Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi at Fergusson College, gave as early as 1924 a critical edition of the *Suttanipāta* in Devanāgarī characters, with parallel passages culled from Otto Franke's work on the same subject. The book also contains extracts from the commentary, an introduction and several indexes. Later, in 1939, Prof. Bapat published *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhi-*



magga: A Comparative Study. In collaboration with Prof. R. D. Vadekar, his colleague at Fergusson College, Prof. Bapat brought out critical editions in Devanāgarī of the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi (1940) and the Aṭṭhasālinī (1942) in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series (paras 2 and 3), accompanied by introductions and indexes. As a result of research at Cheena-bhavan at Santiniketan, Bengal, he translated into English the Chinese version of the Arthapada-sūtra (1945, 1950), corresponding to the Pali Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta, which was also included in Devanāgarī characters on the opposite pages. In the article, 'Shan-Chien-pi-p'o-sha', he published the results of his comparative study of the Pali commentary on the Vinaya, entitled Samanta-pāsādikā and its Chinese version translated by Saṅghabhadra towards the end of the 5th century A.D. (*University of Ceylon Review*, April 1949). A second edition of his Suttanipāta has appeared with a Marathi translation by Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi revised by him in the Dharmānand Swārada Sāhitya (No. 4, 1955). The most important of his scholarly articles such as "Tādi, Tāyi, Tāyin" in *D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (I, pp. 249—258, 1940). "Nekkhamma" in *B. C. Law Memorial Volume* (No. 2, pp. 260—66, 1946), "Saptāṅga-pratiṣṭhita" in *Radha Kumud Mookerjee Volume* (1945), "Paliatthika" and "Sārāṇīya" in *Vāk* (1951, 1952) are of lexicographical interest. Another article by him in "Siddha-bhārati" (*Siddheshvar Varma Memorial Volume*, 1950) deals with the close relation between the Pali and Vedic languages. An article by him on Middha and Middhavādins appeared in *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume* (1939). Another major work, which is soon to be published, is an English translation, made in collaboration with the late Prof. J. H. Woods of Harvard University, of the famous encyclopaedic work of the Visuddhimagga by the Pali scholiast, Buddhaghosa.

Prof. R. D. Vadekar, whose name has already been mentioned, has to his credit a Devanāgarī edition of the Pātimokkha (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, 1939) and the Milinda-



pañha (Bombay University Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series).

Dr. V. V. Gokhale, also of Fergusson College, has specialized in Mahāyāna studies in Tibetan and Chinese. He published his thesis on the Pratītya-samutpāda of Ullaṅgha (Bonn, 1930), translated into Chinese by Dharmagupta and Amoghavajra. The original Sanskrit Kārikās, an incomplete commentary by an unknown author (1940), of Nāgārjuna's Pratītya-samutpāda-hṛdaya, were discovered by him at Lhasa (1950) and are in his possession. These have now been edited and are being published in German in the Kirfel Commemoration Volume at Bonn. He has tried to restore into the original Sanskrit a Madhyamaka text, the Akṣara-śataka of Āryadeva, with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. He has also given us a full text of the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1946), based on an actual manuscript of the Sanskrit text. He tells us about a Brāhmī inscription carved in stone discovered in Tun-huang (Sino-Indian Studies, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 19—23). He published, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay (Vol. 23, 1947), fragments from the Abhidharma-samuccaya of Asaṅga. The Subāṣita-ratnaśā of Vidyākara, a Buddhist anthology of more than 1,700 verses, dating from about the 11th century A.D. is being edited jointly by him and Prof. D. D. Kosambi and will soon be published in the Harvard Oriental Series with the co-operation of Prof. Ingalls of Harvard University.

Prof. P. L. Vaidya has tried to restore the Sanskrit text of the Catuṣśataka, Chapters VIII—XVI, from its Tibetan translation. He has written a book in Marathi on the origin and spread of Buddhism (*Bauddha Dharmācā Abhyudaya āṇi Prasāra*, Poona, 1927). He is now engaged in publishing representative passages on Buddhism from the Pali and Sanskrit texts and it is expected that his work will soon be published under the title *Bauddhāgamārtha Saṅgraha*.

Scholars from South India have also been working in the field of Buddhist studies. The first chapter of Dinnāga's

Pramāṇa-samuccaya has been given in Sanskrit (1930) by H. R. R. Aiyangar of Mysore. In his *Early History of the Andhra Country* (1941) Gopala Chari has given a good deal of information about Buddhist sects in the Deccan and Andhra. Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam has written a memoir, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra* (1932), while Dr. T. N. Ramchandran has contributed a fine memoir on Nāgarjunakoṇḍa (1938). Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminath Aiyar and Prof. N. Aiyaswamy have shown from the Tamil poem, *Manimekhalai*, how Buddhism dominated the people of Tamilnad at one time. T. Ganapati Shastri's discovery of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and its publication in the Trivandrum Series reveal that Tantrism existed in South India also. Dr. P. C. Alexander of Shri Narayan College, Quilon, has traced the history of Buddhism in south-western India right down to modern times in his book, *Buddhism in Kerala* (Annamalainagar, 1949), in which he proves that Buddhism flourished in that region up to the ninth century A.D. Unfortunately, the universities in South India do not appear to have taken too kindly to Pali or Buddhist-Sanskrit studies.

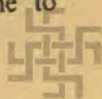
2. *Ceylon*¹.—Owing to the domination of the Portuguese, Dutch and British since the invasion of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1505, Buddhism fell to such a low ebb that Kittisiri Rājasingh (1746—1779 A.D.), the ruler of the Kandyan Province, had to send emissaries to Siam to find Buddhist Elders for the re-establishment of the higher ordination in Ceylon. Other groups went with a similar purpose to Burma, at the beginning of the 19th century and thus were established in Ceylon three fraternities—Siamese, Burmese (Upper Burma), and Rāmañña (Lower Burma). The British captured the island in 1815 and the evils of foreign rule were in no way mitigated. The education of the young was left to Christian missionaries. None the less, two prominent schools of Buddhism were established by the Vener-

1. The author is indebted to the Rev. A. P. Buddhaddatta of Ambalangoda, Ceylon, for much of the information in this account.



able Piyaṛatanatissa of Dodanduwa. A controversy took place between the Christians and the Buddhists in which the latter were triumphant. Colonel Olcott read an account of this controversy in the newspapers and came to Ceylon in 1880. He himself became a Buddhist and encouraged local Buddhists to establish their own schools. He exercised considerable influence over the younger generation and founded the Theosophical Society of Colombo which now controls over 350 Buddhist educational institutions including some first-grade colleges. Two religious schools of the old system of education for monks were established—the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo (1872), and the Vidyālaṅkāra College at Kelaniya (1873) near Colombo. There are now more than 200 institutions connected with these colleges which are still engaged in educational work. The venerable elders saw the necessity of having Pali literature printed for the people and books were thus published both in Pali and Sanskrit. The publication of the Mahāvamsa and its translation into Siṃhalese were undertaken by the Venerable H. Sumangala, the Principal of the Vidyodaya College, and Pandit Batuwantudawe. The Abhidhānappadīpikā, a Pali lexicon, and the Nāmamālā were edited by the Venerable Subhūti. At the request of Sir Robert Chalmers, then Governor of Ceylon, the commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya was edited by the Venerable Dhammārāma, the second Principal of the Vidyālaṅkāra College. The Venerable Seelakkhandha of Śailabimbārāma, Dodanduwa, wrote *Saddharma-makaranda*, (Kolhapur, 1914), a life of the Buddha in Sanskrit and commentaries on the Bhakti-śataka (Darjeeling, 1896), written by Paṇḍita Rāmacandra Bhāratī (middle of the 13th century A.D.) who had become a Buddhist, and on the Aniruddha-śataka. He also edited the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa-kośa, the Daivajña-kāmadhenu and the Vṛttarat-nākara-pañjikā which were published in India in Devanāgarī script.

Under the influence of Colonel H. S. Olcott, a young enthusiast, called David Hewavitarane, who later came to

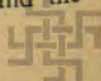


be known as Anagarika Dharmapala, felt the urge to strive for a revival of Buddhism. He lectured to rural audiences in Ceylon and later came to India. It was his religious fervour and missionary zeal that led to the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891.

Simon Hewavitarane, the youngest brother of Anagarika Dharmapala, left a large legacy which was to be used for the printing and publishing of Pali books. So far 49 volumes of commentaries on the canonical texts of the Pali Tripiṭaka have been published. Among the published texts are the Cariyā-piṭaka (1950), the Pārājikā, the first volume of the Vinaya-piṭaka (1950), the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (1952), and the Jātaka Pali (gāthā, 1954).

Stray volumes of the Tripiṭaka and commentaries were also published at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, but most of these books and commentaries, including those in the Simon Hewavitarane Series, are now out of print. The Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī (1933) and the Atthasalinī-mūla Tīkā (1938), published in the Vidya-daya Tīkā Publication Series, may also be mentioned. In the Mānatunga Series, too, there appeared three volumes of the Dīgha-nikāya (1929). One very interesting tīkā on the Samanta-pāsādikā, the Vimati-vinodanī by Coliya Kassapa, was edited and indexed by Dr. H. Gabriel de Silva (1935). It had been preceded by the Sārattha-dīpanī (1914), another tīkā on the Samanta-pāsādikā, which, however, remained incomplete.

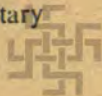
It is now planned to publish afresh the Texts and their Sinhalese translations under the direction of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera, who is well known for his *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928) and for his *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* in two volumes (1937-38). A complete edition of the Cullavagga and portions of the Dīgha and the Saṃyutta-nikāyas have already been published with Sinhalese translations. As the Sinhalese translations of the Pali Texts are in great demand, Dr. A. P. de Soyza, a zealous Buddhist, has published translations of the Dīgha, the Majjhima and the



Samyutta while a translation of the Aṅguttara-nikāya is in progress. With the foundation of the University of Ceylon, particularly since Ceylon achieved independence, new scholars have begun to enter the field. N. A. Jaya Vikrama has contributed a fine critical commentary on the Suttanipāta (*University of Ceylon Review*, 1948—50). Prof. O. H. de Wijesekera has correlated Pali studies with studies in earlier Vedic literature and his papers on Yakṣa, Gandharva and Indra, as well as some from his former pupil, Charles Godage (*University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, November 1943, and Vol. III, April 1945), deserve to be read. In 1946, Dr. Adikaran published his *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* which is based on original sources in the Pali Atthakathās.

Old style scholars among the monks have also given us some fine books. The Rev. Widurapola Piyatissa wrote *Mahākassapa-carita* (1934) and *Mahānekkhamma Campū* (1935), edited the Jātaka-atthakathā in ten volumes, and wrote commentaries on the Netṭi-pakaraṇa and the Samyutta-nikāya. The commentaries published in the Simon Hewavitarane Series are also written by learned Elders.

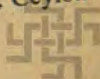
In order to popularize the study of Pali among school-children, it was necessary to simplify the teaching of Pali grammar. In 1912 the Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala compiled a graduated Pali course, on the model of Bhandarkar's *Sanskrit Readers in India*. The Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta, who was given the title of Agga-Mahāpaṇḍita by the Burmese Government in 1954, published *New Pali Course*, Parts I (1937) and II (1939), *Higher Pali Course*, *Aids to Pali Conversation* and *Concise Pali-English Dictionary* (1949). The Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has become famous for his edition of the Visuddhimagga (1914) and of the Apadāna (1930) in Siṃhalese characters and for his editions, for the Pali Text Society, of the Nāmarūpa-pariccheda (1914), the Abhidhammāvatāra (1915), the Sammoha-vinodanī commentary on the Vibhaṅga (1923), the Vinaya-uttara-vinicchaya (1928), the Saddhamma-piṇṇatikā (3 vols.) and the commentary



on the Niddesa. He has written numerous scholarly books in the Siṃhalese language and recently brought out an English-Pali dictionary (1955). A similar work was prepared by the Rev. Nidurupolapiyatissa in 1949. He also recently edited the Visuddhimagga-gaṇṭhi, a small commentary in Siṃhalese characters explaining intricate points in that work. It was with his help that a copy of this manuscript in Burmese characters was obtained from a Burmese monastery near Ambalangoda. Dr. Vajira-nāna Mahā Thera wrote a book entitled *Buddhism Outlined* in 1951. The Rev. Narada is an enthusiastic religious missionary and has visited India, the South-East Asian countries, Europe, Australia, East Africa, and Nepal. He has written several pamphlets, the most important of which are *Buddhism in a Nutshell*, *Kamma and Rebirth*, and *Buddhist Conception of Consciousness*. He has also written a life of the Buddha along with the text and translation of Chapter I of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha. Several editions of the Dhammapada have appeared and one prepared by B. Siri Sivali (1954) is presented very attractively, the text being given in the Siṃhalese and Roman scripts on pages on the left and the translations in Siṃhalese and English on the right.

The Rev. Ñyānatiloka, a German Buddhist monk of the Dodanduwa Island, gave us a very useful book in his *Guide Through the Abhidhamma-piṭaka* (1938). He has also prepared a German translation of the Visuddhimagga which has so far been printed only in part. The Government of Ceylon has awakened to the fact that it, too, must encourage Buddhist studies. Accordingly, the task of publishing the Pali texts and their Siṃhalese translations has been entrusted to the Vidyālaṅkāra authorities. It has also been decided to bring out a Buddhist encyclopaedia and arrangements are being made for its preparation under the general editorship of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera, who has been elected President of the World Federation of Buddhists.

Incidentally, it may be observed that, under the guidance of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera of the University of Ceylon, Ceylon



has taken the lead in trying to bring all Buddhist countries together and to set up the World Fellowship of the Buddhists, which met in Ceylon (1950), Japan (1952) and Burma (1954). It proposes to meet for the fourth time at Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Buddha in Nepal.

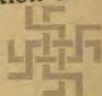
3. *Burma*¹.—As Burma was ruled by its own king right up to 1886, Buddhism continued to flourish in that country. The country has been known for a long time for its scholarly studies in the Tripiṭaka, especially the Abhidhamma. Its numerous monasteries contain rich collections of Pali manuscripts. Mandalay has always been its educational and religious centre and its monasteries possess many rare manuscripts. Burma can boast of two or three printing presses like the Hanthawady Press, the P. G. Mundyne Pitaka Press and the Zabu Meet Swe Press where Pali books, the Aṭṭhakathās and sub-commentaries on the Abhidhamma are printed. In Burma, there are, even among laymen, not a few studying the Abhidhamma. At the beginning of this century, the more notable among the learned monks of Burma was Ledi Sayadaw who had specialized in the Abhidhamma. He wrote on the Yamaka and selections from it, as well as his article, 'Philosophy of Relations', was published by the Pali Text Society in 1914 and in 1916. Only recently, two other great scholars passed away. One of them, Abhidhaja Mahā Raṭṭha-Guru Nyaungyan Sayadaw (1874—1955), was elected Saṅghanāyak, or the presiding Mahāthera. He has to his credit some 150 manuals on Buddhism among which are *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, *Brahmanimantaṇa-sutta*, *Hemavata-sutta*, *Sīlakkhandhoṭṭikā* and *Namakkāra-ṭṭikā*. Another notable scholar was the Venerable Mingun Sayadaw (1868—1955) of Thaton who wrote *Milinda-aṭṭhakathā* (1949), *Peṭakopadesa-aṭṭhakathā*, *Kaṭṭhina-viniccaya* and *Nibbāṇa-kathā*. He was looked upon with great disfavour by the ecclesiastical authorities as well as the Government of Burma for having expressed in his com-

1. The author is indebted to Devaprasad Guha of the Pali Department of the University of Rangoon for certain details in this account.



mentary on the Milinda independent views regarding the possibility of giving women a higher ordination by the Order of the Buddhist Monks. Charles Duroiselle made a name for himself through his writings on various archaeological finds in Burma and also wrote a small book entitled *Practical Grammar*. Z. Aung's *Compendium of Philosophy* (1910), a masterly treatise, is an annotated translation of the small Abhidhamma manual, the Abbidhammatṭha-saṅgaha. Aung also wrote an account of Abhidhamma literature in Burma (1912). Later, he translated the Kathāvatthu into English in *Points of Controversy* (1915). Mrs. C. Rhys Davids was his collaborator in the first and third of the works mentioned above. Prof. Maung Tin gave us the English translation of the Aṭṭhasālini in his *Expositor* (2 vols., 1920—21), and of the Visuddhimagga in his *Path of Purity* (3 vols., 1922—31). We may also mention the names of the late Ledi Pandit U. Maung Gyi and the late U. Lin who wrote on subjects relating to the Abhidhamma. Nor must we forget the Rev. Paññāloka Mahāthera who has written on Abhidhamma subjects in Bengali.

Since Burma became independent, the Burmese Government has taken swift measures to bring about the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist studies. A Buddha Sāsana Council has been established and under its auspices, or perhaps inspiration, several centres of Buddhist studies have been opened. It has also been decided to edit afresh the whole of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. Co-operation has been sought from learned Buddhist monks in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. With the material supplied by these countries, the basic text, as recorded in 729 stone slabs at the Kuthodaw temple in Mandalay, was compared and a final text established. The Saṅgāyana (recital) of such a text has already passed through certain stages and the final stage will be completed on the 2,500th anniversary of the Lord Buddha's parinirvāṇa at the full moon of Vaiśākha in 1956. It is understood that the whole Pali text in Burmese characters is already in print and the Burmese translation of



the whole of the Tripiṭaka is nearing completion.

4. *Thailand*.—Buddhism is the State religion of Thailand and here it never fell on evil days as it did in Ceylon. The State has a separate administration for religious affairs and the Government spends large sums of money for the religious well-being of Buddhists, monks and laity alike.

There are two great institutes of higher learning for the Buddhist monks—the Maha Makut Rāja Vidyālaya Academy and the Maha Cūlalānkarn Rāja Vidyālaya Academy. Sanskrit is now taught in Bangkok both at Cūlalānkarn University and at the Academy for Buddhist Monks. Thailand has always been in the forefront of Buddhist studies and it is a matter of gratification that as many as forty-five volumes of the Pali Tripiṭaka, at least thirty volumes of the Aṭṭhakathās, and ten volumes of the Pakaraṇas have been published in Siamese script. A special feature of Siamese books is that they contain indexes, however meagre they may be.

It may be noted that the Vajirañāna Manuscript Library at Bangkok has a rich collection of manuscripts, some of which are extremely rare. There is a new commentary on the Visuddhimagga, the Sankhapattha-jotani which begins with the words *Svasti Buddhāya* (Hail to the Buddha!). In Thailand also is preserved a rare book, the Sangitivamsa, which mentions as many as nine councils.¹

Pañcika-nāma-aṭṭhayojanā, a work on the Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī (which itself is a ṭikā on the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha), is another rare printed book in two volumes which have an index. Another book, *Maṅgalattha-dīpanī* (1951–53), gives a detailed exposition of the gāthās of the famous Maṅgala-sutta and is highly spoken of in Thailand. Other important new books are *Jinakāla-malini*² and *Samantapasadika-attha-yojana*. The very exist-

1. See Chapter IV, p. 51.

2. It is understood that this book has been edited by the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon, and will be published in both Sinhalese and Roman characters.



ence of these books is indicative of the importance of the study of Pali texts, commentaries and sub-commentaries in Thailand.

The Sixth Council now being held in Rangoon has induced some Burmese scholars to go to Thailand to preach the Abhidhamma.

5. *Cambodia*¹.—Although a very small country, Cambodia has always been a stronghold of Theravāda Buddhism. Under the patronage of His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk Varman (Narottama Simha-hanu Varman) who recently abdicated in favour of his father in order to be free to bring about all-round reform in his kingdom, and under the vigorous guidance of His Eminence Samdach Brah Mahā Sumedhadhipati Chuon-nath, Chief of the Mahanikāya, Cambodia has made rapid progress in organizing the education of the Religious Order and in the propagation of the Faith among the laity. This little country has as many as 2,800 monasteries with 82,000 monks and novices.

In 1914 the Government opened in Phnom-penh, the capital of Cambodia, a Pali High School, where young monks were instructed and given diplomas after four years' training. The instruction was not confined to religious subjects but also included subjects useful in the temporal world. This school has now developed into a college. In 1933, the authorities began to establish elementary Pali schools where the monks took a three years' course. Out of these schools have now developed the schools of Dhamma-Vinaya, where all monks are trained. This year a Buddhist University named after Preah Sihanu-Raja has also been started.

To supplement this programme of religious instruction in Phnom-penh a Royal Library was opened in 1925 and a

1. The author is grateful to the Venerable Brah Gru Sanghasattha of the Buddhist College at Phnom-penh for the material on which this account is based. Thanks are also due to His Eminence Samdach Choun-nath, Chief of the Mahanikaya in Cambodia through whose courtesy the material was made available.



Buddhist Institute in 1930. A little later, the Government appointed a Tripiṭaka Board consisting of eminent scholars, who were asked to prepare for publication Pali texts and their Cambodian translations. The literary output of these institutions is highly creditable. Out of the 110 volumes contemplated in the bilingual series, 46 have already been published. A copy of all the texts of the Pali Canon written by hand was sent to the Sixth Council (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana) now in session at Rangoon. Among the other ten volumes published in Pali (1938—54), are the Abhidhamma-mātikā (1953), the Chappakaraṇa Abhidhamma (1950), the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (1938), the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha (1950), the Visuddhimagga (1946) and the Maṅgalattha-dīpanī (1952). No fewer than 187 volumes, mostly on religious subjects, have been published in the Cambodian language by the various libraries and institutions already mentioned.

Clearly, Cambodia has made tremendous progress in the popularization of Pali studies and in the education of the monks.

6. *Laos*.—Laos is mostly mountainous and comparatively backward. Although the country belongs to the Theravāda school and the Pali Tripiṭaka forms its sacred literature, it has few Pali scholars. It appears, however, that there exist in Laos many texts which are word-to-word commentaries or Nissayas of the Pali texts. In Luang-prabang, the capital, in a small temple on the hill, there is a library of manuscripts in which we find a Laotian Nissaya of the Visuddhimagga. It begins with the words *Namo tassa (Bhagavato) atthu* instead of the usual formula of *Namo tassa Bhagavato Arhato Samma-sambuddhassa* (Bow to the Blessed, the Deserving and Fully Enlightened Buddha).

In this country, the Jātakas enjoy great popularity and separate collections of ten and of fifty Jātakas are available. The order of the ten Jātakas, however, differs from that in Fausböll's edition. There is also a collection of fifty Jātakas



which is current in other countries in South-East Asia, such as Siam, Cambodia and Burma. What is peculiar to the independent Laotian version, however, is that it contains 27 stories which are not found in any other collection.¹ Lists of the Jātakas in the collection of the ten and fifty are given below:

The Ten Jātakas

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Temiyakumāra | 6. Bhūridatta |
| 2. Janakakumāra | 7. Candakumāra |
| 3. Suvaṇṇasyāma | 8. Nārada |
| 4. Nimirāja | 9. Vidhurapaṇḍita |
| 5. Mahosadha | 10. Vessantara |

The Fifty Jātakas

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Samuddaghosakumāra | 20. Paññābalakumāra |
| 2. Suddhamukumāra or
Sutarājakumāra | 21. Dadhivāhana |
| 3. Śudhanakumāra | 22. Mahisakumāra |
| 4. Sirasākumāra | 23. Chaddanta |
| 5. Subhamittarāja | 24. Campeyyanāgarāja |
| 6. Suvaṇṇasaṅkha | 25. Bahalāgavī |
| 7. Candaghātaka | 26. Kapila |
| 8. Suvaṇṇamiga | 27. Naraṇḍakumāra |
| 9. Suvaṇṇakuruṅga | 28. Siddhisārakumāra |
| 10. Setamūsiko | 29. Kusarāja |
| 11. Tulakapaṇḍita | 30. Jeṭṭhakumāra |
| 12. Māghamāṇava | 31. Duṭṭharājakumāra |
| 13. Ariṭṭhakumāra | 32. Vaṭṭakarājā |
| 14. Ratanapajjota | 33. Nārada |
| 15. Sonandakumāra | 34. Mahāsutasoma |
| 16. Bārāṇasī | 35. Mahābalarājā |
| 17. Dhammadhajapaṇḍita | 36. Brahmaghosarājā |
| 18. Dukkammakumāra | 37. Sādirājā |
| 19. Sabbasiddhikumāra | 38. Siridharasetthī |
| | 39. Mātuposaka or Ajitarājā |

1. See Henri Deydier, *Introduction a la Connaissance du Laos*, Saigon, 1952, p. 29.



- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 40. Vimalarājā | 46. Mahāpadumakumāra |
| 41. Arindumarājā | 47. Surasenarājā |
| 42. Viriyapaṇḍita | 48. Siricundāmanīrājā |
| 43. Ādittarājā | 49. Kapirājā |
| 44. Surūparājā | 50. Kukkura |
| 45. Suvannabrahmadattarājā | |

In the collection of ten Jātakas, the Temiya and the Vessantara are popular. There is also a sutta called the Jambupattisutta, which is peculiar to this country and is portrayed in the wall paintings of the Library building on Val Pha Ouak, the hill in Luang-prabang. King Jambupatti, wishing to dazzle the Buddha, visited him in great state, but saw the latter sitting on his throne, beautiful as a god and dressed in the shining apparel of a King of Kings (Rājādhirājā). This represents the conception of the Buddha as the equal of a Cakravartī monarch. In a scene depicted in a wall painting in this temple, the Buddha is represented as pointing to Jambupatti the torments he must suffer if he does not follow the principles of the Vinaya.

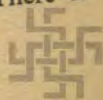
7. *Viet-Nam (including Viet-Minh)*¹.—Buddhism was probably introduced in Viet-Nam towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. when it was under the sway of the Chinese Emperor. Buddhism in this country went through many vicissitudes with changes in the political situation. The country of Viet-Nam belongs to the Mahāyāna school which it inherited from China and even the religious books used by its monks and nuns in the monastic establishments are in the Chinese language. With the coming of French rule and the introduction of Roman script in the schools, the younger generations ceased to read books in Chinese script, which used to be easy for them as the Viet-Name language differs from Chinese only in pronunciation.

1. The material for this account was kindly supplied by Mr. Mai Tho Truen, President of the Association of Buddhist Studies, South Viet-Nam, Saigon, through the courtesy of Monsieur Louis Mallret, Director, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Saigon.



In the first third of the twentieth century, there arose a new movement for the revival of Buddhism and Associations of Buddhist Studies were started at Saigon (1931), Hue (1932) and Hanoi (1932). The new movement favoured the use of the Viet-Nameese language in Roman script for their religious books instead of Chinese. An awakening took place among the monks and the laity and there was a movement to spread knowledge among the masses. However, the Second World War (1940—45) interrupted all these efforts. With the return of peace, renewed efforts at reorganization were made in 1948 at Hanoi in northern Viet-Nam with the inspiring initiation and guidance of Their Eminences, the Reverends To-Lien and Tri-Hai. They started an orphanage, a private college (at Quan-su Temple in Hanoi), and a printing press to enable them to carry on the movement and popularize it among the masses. A number of religious books in Viet-Nameese or in a bilingual series (Chinese letters with their Viet-Nameese pronunciation in Roman characters) were published. We find several such books of daily prayers or books held in great reverence by the people, such as the Kṣitigarbha-sūtra (Nanjio, 1003) or the Sūraṅgama-sūtra (Nanjio, 399). Journals like Giác-Ngộ were published and became popular. Hanoi being the cultural centre of Viet-Nam, the movement spread from there towards Hue (in central Viet-Nam) where Buddhist Associations were also reorganized. A former empress has started a new school for young nuns where vigorous training is given and such activities as gardening are included. In Saigon, too, a new organization for Buddhist studies was established in 1950 to replace an old one.

In literature, also, we often find echoes of ideas borrowed from Buddhism—karma, rebirth, suffering in the world, the law of causation and impermanence. The intelligentsia is no longer content with the materialism of the West and is greatly influenced by the five rules of morality (Pañca-śīla) which are the very foundation of Buddhism. The common people find solace in the worship of Amitābha. There is



also a section of people who are followers of the Pure Land sect. The ideals of purity and compassion, the dominant notes of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and the vegetarianism of the monks impress the people. Though Mahāyāna Buddhism is dominant in the country, of late a desire is noticeable among certain people for a return to the earlier form of orthodox Buddhism (Theravāda). A new temple of this Theravāda school, the Jeta-vana Vihāra, has been established in Saigon by the Venerable Vamsarakkhita and the Venerable Nāgathera. Recently some relics were taken to this temple by the Rev. Nāradatthera of Ceylon for worship. The Venerable Vamsarakkhita Thera published (1953) a small manual of prayers and a manual of guidance for householders in Pali with its transcription and interpretation in Viet-Nameese.

8. *China*¹.—During the reign of the Manchu Kings of the Ching Dynasty (1644—1911), Buddhism experienced vicissitudes of fortune according to the favours or frowns of the ruling kings. During the reign of Emperor Chien-Lung (1735—1796), a new Dragon edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was brought out. In the same period Mongolian translations of 270 volumes of the Tibetan Tanjur and a Manchurian translation of the Chinese Tripiṭaka were printed, although in the second half of the Ching period Buddhism declined in China. Towards the end of Manchu rule, China was fast coming under the influence of the West and Buddhist studies experienced a revival in China. The work of Christian missionaries also had a stimulating effect on the minds of the rising generation, thus giving a fillip to research and study in general.

In 1875 A.D., Liu Chih-tien, Minister for China in Great Britain, persuaded a promising young scholar, Yang Wen-hui, to go with him to England. There Yang came in contact with the Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio of Japan, who with his help prepared the famous Catalogue of the Chinese Tripi-

1. This account is based on Chou Hsiang Kuang's *Indo-Chinese Relations*, and *History of Chinese Buddhism* (1955).



taka. Yang obtained from Japan many valuable books which had been lost in China. In 1907, he established a Buddhist Institute called Jetavana Vihāra at Nanking, where he gathered round him some thirty young men who took up Buddhist studies as their course of higher education. His contemporaries, K'ang Yu-wei and Tan Szutung, young intellectuals who advocated reform in Confucianism, were also affected by Buddhism. After the National Revolution of 1911, the Buddhists of China formed the All-China Buddhist Association with headquarters at Nanking and, in the fourth year of the Chinese Republic, they secured protection for their monasteries from the Ministry of Home Affairs, who issued a proclamation to that effect. Monasteries and temples were reconstructed and efforts were made to popularize Buddhism by organizing lectures and printing and circulating Buddhist books. The Buddhist Upāsaka Grove and the Buddhist Association of Pure Land in Shanghai were established. A monastic normal school and a university of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school were established at Nanking. Other institutions established were the Kuan Tsung Preaching Hall of Ningpo, the Avatamsaka College of Ch'ang Chow, the Buddhist Institute of Wuchang, the Sino-Tibet Buddhist College founded by His Holiness the Rev. T'ai-Hsu, the Ching-ling Buddhist Academy, now at Shanghai, and the Cheen Institute of Inner Learning at Nanking.

Some journals such as *Haicchao Ying* (*The Ocean Tide Voice*), *Pure Land Vocation* and *Inner Learning Journal* were founded. The two Boards set up at Peking and Tien-tsin for the purpose of engraving the canons published *Epitome of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*. The Kalavinka Vihāra of Shanghai published several small volumes of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. The Commercial Press of Shanghai has done the photographic printing of the supplementary books of the Japanese Tripiṭaka and of the Dhāraṇīs in the Tripiṭaka of the Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchurian languages. The Rev. T'ai-Hsu (1888–1947), who was a



great living force in the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist studies, gave a scientific turn to the religious training of a Buddhist monk. He sent some of his disciples to Ceylon and India to study Pali and Sanskrit. He himself founded a Bodhi Society in Shanghai, became the Chairman of the Buddhist Reformation Committee and began reforming Chinese Buddhism and organizing the Chinese Saṅgha. The Rev. Fa Fang, one of his prominent disciples, stayed at the Vidyālaṅkāra monastery near Colombo, Ceylon, and at Cheenabhavan in Santiniketan, India, and studied Pali. He also wrote a book on Vijñānavāda in Chinese. The Rev. Pai Hui, Fa Fang's disciple, studied Sanskrit at Santiniketan. Upāsaka Ou-yang Ching-wu (1871—1943), a layman, was an eminent Buddhist scholar who studied Buddhism under the guidance of Yang Wen-hui. Among his works are a commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and prefaces to the Mahāprajñāpāramitā, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra and the Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra. His explanatory discourses to the disciples of the Cheen Institute of Inner Learning which he had founded himself were also published. The scientific spirit in which the Rev. T'ai-Hsu conducted his Buddhist studies has been maintained in modern China by his disciples, Lu-chen, T'ang Yong-Tung and Chen Ming-hsu. The Buddhist movement is now being led by young graduates who in one way or another are connected with institutions started by the Rev. T'ai-Hsu and Upāsaka Ou-Yang Ching-wu.

The Chinese Buddhist Association of Peking seems still to be active. It recently held (May, 1953) a conference of Buddhists in the Quang-chi temple, where Buddhists came from different provinces, including Tibet, South-West China, and Yunan, and from Thailand.

9. *Japan*.—As a Buddhist country, Japan has encouraged Buddhist studies throughout the ages, but it was only in the 18th century that these attained wide popularity. Tominaga Chuki's (1715—45) study on Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Venerable Jiun's (1718—1807) Sanskrit studies are among



the important works of this period that show a critical approach.

The pioneers of modern research were B. Nanjio (1848 — 1927) and K. Kasahara, both of whom studied Sanskrit under Prof. Max Müller in England. B. Nanjio introduced to Japan the new method of study which he had learnt in England. Unfortunately, however, Kasahara died on his return to Japan. The examples of these two scholars were a source of great inspiration to later Buddhist scholars.

An attempt has been made here to give a brief general survey of the progress of Buddhist studies in Japan with special reference to Indian Buddhism.

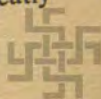
With the adaptation of the European educational system after the Meiji Restoration (1868 A.D.), several universities, colleges and research institutes came into being, some of which, for example, the Otani, Ryukoku, Komazawa, Taisho, Koyasan, and Rissho, were devoted mainly to the advancement of Buddhist studies.

Nanjio introduced Sanskrit classes at Otani University and this marked the beginning of research societies in Japan. Today, the universities at Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Nagoya, Hokkaido and Osaka also hold Sanskrit seminars.

A number of research institutes are attached to particular Buddhist sects. There are also several institutes which specialize in Oriental studies in general, including Buddhism. Among these the most important are Toyobunka-Kenkyujo (The Oriental Cultural Research Institute), attached to the University of Tokyo, Jinbunkagaku-Kenkyuje (The Research Institute of Sciences and Humanities), attached to the University of Kyoto, Toyo-bunko (The Oriental Research Institute) in Tokyo and the Okurayama Cultural Research Institute in Yokohama.

Indogaku-Bukkyogakukai (The Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies), which holds an Oriental conference every year and issues a journal twice annually, was founded in 1951.

The work of the Pali Text Society in London greatly



influenced the outlook of Japanese scholars. Following its example, the gigantic task of translating the Pali Canon into Japanese was undertaken and completed in 65 volumes under the supervision of J. Takakusu, a former professor of Tokyo University, and M. Nagai, also a retired professor of Tokyo University. Japanese scholars have shown remarkable zeal and a special capacity for the comparative study of Pali texts and Tibetan and Chinese translations of Buddhist canons, which has gone a long way in correctly interpreting early Buddhism and its development. C. Akanuma, a Professor of Otani University, was one of the most outstanding scholars of Pali Buddhism. His *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (Nagoya, 1931) and *Comparative Catalogue of the Pali Canon and its Chinese Versions* have been hailed as works of great learning. The *Samanta-pāsādikā* was edited by J. Takakusu and M. Nagai, while *Ethics of Buddhism* was published by S. Tachibana of Komazawa University. Anesaki's *The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese* is also a famous work.

The study of Pali Buddhism has now developed into that of the Āgama, the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya. Each of these branches is under the supervision of a competent scholar. Funahashi, of Otani University, is working on the Āgama, R. Higata, of Kyushu University, on the Jātaka, K. Mizunu, of Komazawa University, and G. Sasaki, of Otani University, on the Abhidhamma and U. Nagai on the Vinaya.

The study of Sanskrit was introduced in Japan with research on Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nanjio published a Sanskrit text of the Vajracchedikā in 1881, and that of the Sukhāvātī-vyūha in collaboration with Prof. Max Müller in 1883. Amongst his other publications are the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (*Bibl. Bud.*, Vol. 10, 1909—1912), the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (Kyoto, 1923) and the Suvaraṇa-prabhāsa (Kyoto, 1931).

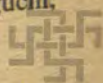
A number of Sanskrit texts were edited by U. Wogihara, a former professor of Taisho University.



Among these, the most important are the Bodhisattva-bhūmi (Tokyo, 1930), the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā (Tokyo, 1932), the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-loka (Tokyo, 1932—35) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (Tokyo, 1934). Wogihara also published the Mahāvvyutpatti, in a Sanskrit-Chinese edition, in 1915. Other Sanskrit texts edited by Japanese scholars include the Sumagadhāvadāna by G. Tokiwai (1897), the Bhadracārī by K. Watanabe (1912), the Madhyāntavibhāga-ṭīkā by S. Yamaguchi (Otani, 1934), the Gaṇḍa-vyūha by D. T. Suzuki and H. Izumi (1934—36), the Daśabhūmīśvara by R. Kondo (1936), and the Mahāvvyutpatti, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese edition, by R. Sakaki, a former professor at Kyoto University (1916).

Their knowledge of the Chinese Canon and their faculty of criticism in regard to the text has enabled Japanese scholars to produce a number of philological and philosophical works on Mahāyāna and Abhidharma Buddhism. In this connection, mention may be made of the works of T. Kimura, H. Ui, D. T. Suzuki and other well-known scholars. Kimura's introductory works on early Buddhism, Abhidharma and Mahāyāna Buddhism are still read with interest. *Studies in Indian Philosophy* (6 vols.), which work includes the study of Buddhist philosophy, forms the most important work of H. Ui. Recently this author published the Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi; a comparative study of the commentary on the Triṃśikā by Sthiramati and the Vijñapti-mātratāvīmśatikā, a comparative study of Sanskrit texts and four Chinese translations. D. T. Suzuki is the distinguished author of *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (1930), of an English translation of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and an index to it, besides other works. G. Honda, at one time a professor at Kyoto University, was an authority on the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. S. Yamaguchi's philological studies and S. Miyamoto's philosophical studies on the Mādhyamika school are important works on the subject.

Studies in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka were introduced in Japan through the efforts of several monks, namely, E. Kawaguchi,



E. Teramoto, T. Tada and B. Aoki, who visited Tibet to acquire a knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism. The important works in this field include *A Catalogue of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka* (2 vols., Tohoku University, 1934), *A Catalogue of Kanjur* (Otani University, 1930—32) and *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (1954).

The comparative study of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of various texts has made great progress in the last twenty years. The texts which are based upon their Tibetan versions are the *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-śāstra*, edited by G. Sasaki, a former professor of Otani University, *Sthiramati's Triṃśikāvijñapti-bhāṣya*, edited by E. Teramoto (Otani University), the *Ārya-śrīmālā-sūtra*, by K. Tsukinowa (Ryukoku University), and the *Sandhinirmocana-sūtra* by K. Nishio (Otani University).

The study of Tibetan Buddhism is being pursued by such experts as S. Yamaguchi, G. Nagao (Kyoto), H. Hatano (Tohoku), S. Yoshimura (Ryukoku) and several others.

Studies on the Chinese Tripiṭaka and Chinese Buddhism are also receiving serious attention. The most important work in this field is *The Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* (85 vols., 1918—25). Among the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the most famous is *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* by B. Nanjio, 1883. *Table du Taisho-Issaikyo*, attached to the *Hobogirin* (Tokyo, 1931), is also useful. The bibliographical study on the Chinese version is crystallized in *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten* (The Dictionary of the Buddhist Bibliography) by G. Ono (12 vols., 1933—35).

Based upon *Taisho Issaikkyo* were published two kinds of Japanese translations, *Kokuyaku Issaikyo* (150 vols., Tokyo, 1928—35) and *Kokuyaku Daizokyo* in 28 volumes.

Buddhist dictionaries of various kinds were compiled, including *Bukkuo Daijiten* by T. Oda (1 vol., 1917), and *Bukkyo Daijiten* by S. Mochizuki (6 vols., Tokyo, 1931—36). A unique work in this field is *Daizokyo Sakuin* (an index of the Canon) in 3 volumes by K. Kawakami, 1927—28.



S. Murakami, a former professor of Tokyo University, E. Ma-e-de also of Tokyo University, S. Mochizuki, at one time professor of Taisho University, B. Shiio, a former professor of Taisho University, and B. Matsumoto, a former professor of Kyoto University, are among those who published studies on Buddhism based on the Chinese versions of the texts.

The study of Chinese Buddhism proper has also been popular in Japan. D. Tokiwa, K. Sakaino, and K. Tabuki are distinguished scholars in this field. Several important works were written on Zen Buddhism by H. Ui, D. T. Suzuki, and K. Nukariya, a former professor of Komazawa University. Recently a study of Central Asian Buddhism was undertaken by R. Hatani, a retired professor of Kyoto University, J. Ishihama of the same University and several other scholars. A research expedition was sent to Central Asia under K. Otani, and this has brought to light important archaeological material on the subject.

Lastly, we may refer to some important works on Japanese Buddhism itself.

Studies on Japanese Buddhism in recent times show remarkable progress in their critical approach. Of the two aspects of the study of Japanese Buddhism, one consists only in historical research while the other relates to Buddhist thought. A very well-known work of historical research is Z. Tsuji's *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, in 10 volumes. In the field of Buddhist thought, S. Shimaji, a former professor of Tokyo University, was a pioneer, while S. Hanayama, also of Tokyo University, has published important works on the subject.

The philosophies of Shinran, Dogen and other founders of Buddhist sects are also held in great esteem by the non-Buddhist philosophers of Japan and other countries.



CHAPTER XV

Buddhism in the Modern World

A. CULTURAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

In order to determine the cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world we must first define Buddhism itself, and ascertain the general nature of its relation to culture and to politics. A glimpse of the cultural achievements of Buddhism during its twenty-five centuries of history, and of its political status and influence in the same period will be helpful in understanding the cultural implications of Buddhism today, not only in the East but also in the West, besides grasping its current political implications for Asia and the world at large.

The Nature of Buddhism

Buddhism, or more accurately, the Dharma, may best be defined simply as the means to enlightenment. The Buddha himself compares it to a raft. Just as a raft, after being fashioned out of grass, sticks, branches and leaves, serves to cross over great stretches of water and is then abandoned, so the Dharma, by means of which we ferry over the waters of birth and death to the other shore, nirvana, is not something to be taken with us but something to be left behind.¹ In short, it is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end. In modern parlance, its function is purely instrumental and therefore its value only relative. This of course does not mean that it can be dispensed with. When we have arrived safely on the other shore, the raft

1. Majjhima-nikāya I, 134.



may indeed be abandoned; but so long as we remain on this shore, or are still paddling across the stream, it is indispensable.

The pragmatic nature of the Dharma is emphasized in the words addressed by the Blessed One to his foster-mother and aunt, Mahāpajāpatī Gautamī, who had asked him to give her a precept, hearing which she might dwell "alone, solitary, ardent and resolved". The Buddha replies, "Of whatsoever teachings, Gotamid, thou canst assure thyself thus: 'These doctrines conduce to dispassion, not to passions: to detachment, not to bondage: to decrease of (worldly) gains, not to increase of them: to frugality, not to covetousness: to content, and not discontent: to solitude, not company: to energy, not sluggishness: to delight in good, not delight in evil': of such teachings thou mayest with certainty affirm, Gotamid, 'This is the Dharma. This is the Vinaya. This is the Master's Message'."¹ It is for this reason that the Mahāyānists were not only able to say, with Aśoka, "Whatever the Blessed One has said is well said", but also "Whatever is well said is the word of the Buddha".²

The means to enlightenment comprise three groups of practices. Ānanda, questioned about the Master's teaching some time after the mahāparinirvāṇa, tells his interrogator, a young brāhmaṇa, that the Blessed One taught śīla, samādhi, paññā, and gives an explanation of each of these terms in turn.³ According to the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, these three groups had, in fact, formed the substance of the farewell discourse delivered by the Buddha at the various places through which he passed in the course of his last journey.⁴ Śīla, or ethics, traditionally consists of the five precepts incumbent upon all Buddhists, both monks and

1. Vinaya, II, 10.

2. Adhyāśayasamuccāda-sūtra, Śikṣā-Samuccaya of Śāntideva; translated by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, London, 1922, p. 17.

3. Dīgha-nikāya, I, 10.

4. Dīgha-nikāya, II, 3.



laymen, as well as the 227 or 250 binding upon Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks respectively, and various special precepts observed by the Bodhisattvas. In samādhi, or meditation, are included mindfulness, and self-possession (satisampajañña), contentment (santutṭhitā), the overcoming of the five hindrances (pañcanivāraṇa), the attainment of the four (or eight) stages of superconsciousness (jhāna) by means of one or more of the forty classical supports of concentration (kammaṭṭhāna), and the development of various psychic powers (iddhi). Paññā (Skt. Prajñā), generally rendered as wisdom, includes all the doctrines of Buddhism, that is to say, teachings relating to the conditioned co-production (pratītya-samutpāda) of phenomena, the three characteristics (trilakṣaṇa) of mundane existence, the four noble truths (āryasatya), universal emptiness (sarvadharmā-nairātmya), the three kinds of reality (svabhāva), mind only (citta-mātratā), and the three bodies of the Buddha (trikāya). Through each of these three stages in turn must the disciple pass in order to attain nirvāṇa. While some of the practices enumerated under śīla and samādhi are found in other traditions, the doctrines which constitute the conceptual formulations of prajñā are peculiar to Buddhism.

Buddhism and Culture

Culture, which is derived from a Latin word meaning 'tilling', can be looked at from three principal points of view. First of all, it is the act of developing the moral, intellectual and aesthetic nature of man through education and discipline. Secondly, it is that familiarity with and taste in the fine arts, humanities and broad aspects of science, that enlightened and refined state or temper of mind, which such education and discipline tend to induce. Thirdly, it is those activities and objects which are the effect in the artist, and the cause in the rasika, or savourer of a work of art, of the enlightenment and refinement referred to. Thus, culture comprises the act of cultivation, or education (literally a 'bringing out'), the thing cultivated, in this case

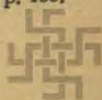


a mental state, and the fruits of such cultivation; in short, works of science and of art. Buddhism is obviously connected with culture in all three senses. But what is the nature of the connection between the two? Is it merely a historical and accidental relation having nothing to do with the essential nature of either Buddhism or of culture, or does it spring from some deep and hidden affinity? Buddhism, as we have seen, is the means to enlightenment, and as such threefold, consisting of śīla, samādhi and prajñā. In order to have an inner, as distinct from a merely outer, connection with Buddhism, culture must be able to function as a means to enlightenment. In other words, it must be possible for us to subsume it under the category of ethics, or of meditation, or of wisdom. Can this be done?

According to the Theravāda tradition, it can. Speaking of bhāvanā, or mental culture, Dr. C. L. A. de Silva, a distinguished exponent of this school, writes, "The volitions arising in the processes of thought during the time of learning the Dhamma Vinaya (the doctrine) or any arts, sciences and so on, too, are included under the heading of mental culture or bhāvanā."¹ Though the connotation of bhāvanā is on the whole more active than that of samādhi, the two terms are in the present context more or less synonymous. Culture may be subsumed under samādhi, the second of the stages of the path to nirvana, because, like the more direct and specialized methods pertaining to the practice of meditation, the arts and sciences also contribute to the purification, refinement and elevation of consciousness. This fact has been recognized, in practice, even if not in theory, by all schools of Buddhism. But since the fine arts, by reason of their greater emotional appeal, are able to heighten consciousness to a far greater extent than the sciences, it is with painting, music and poetry, rather than with mathematics and chemistry, that Buddhism is most intimately related.

This connection is twofold. Art may be either sacred

1. *The Four Essential Doctrines of Buddhism*, Colombo (1948), p. 155.



or profane. In the first case, art is deliberately used, in conjunction with other methods, as a means of rising to a higher plane of consciousness. The Buddha image springs to the mind as the best known example of this type of art. By fixing his mind on such an image, instead of on something that is not a work of art, the devotee is enabled to purify and refine his consciousness not only by the act of concentration itself but also by the aesthetic appeal of the image. Buddhist art, in which painting, sculpture, music and poetry, are all integrated into the spiritual tradition, and utilized, not merely as media of religious propaganda, but as objects of concentration and meditation, is one of the most effective means of heightening the consciousness ever devised by man. Profane art, or art which has no formal connection with the Dharma, though capable of producing an effect of the same kind is rarely able to produce it to the same degree. Not being reinforced and stabilized by the methodical practice of concentration, and having, as sometimes happens, no firm foundation in the moral life, whatever heightening of consciousness it is able to produce is of momentary duration only. For this reason art, though it may greatly assist and powerfully reinforce the practice of meditation, the second stage of the Path, can never be a substitute for it. Much less can art be a substitute for religion. The Dharma as a means to enlightenment comprises, as we have already seen, not only sila and samadhi, ethics and meditation, but prajna or wisdom. Even if it could be shown that art alone is capable of inducing the dhyānas, or states of superconsciousness, that it was capable of producing prajna would remain undemonstrated. Between samādhi and prajñā there is this difference, that the former, however high it may soar, is still mundane, whereas the latter is transcendental. Hence the Dharma, since it is not only ethics and meditation but also wisdom, does not merely include culture but transcends it.

However, Buddhism is traditionally associated not only with the sacred but also with the profane variety of art. By



this we mean that besides making direct use of art for meditative purposes it also recognizes the purifying and refining power of "a thing of beauty", and therefore not only tolerates but also encourages the independent cultivation of the arts. Thus we have not only the images of Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas but statues of yakṣas, yakṣiṇīs and apsarās, who, though belonging to the mythology of Buddhism, have nothing to do with its doctrine. Āśvaghoṣa composes an epic poem on the life of the Buddha; but Wang Wei sings of mountains, mists, and streams. Broadly speaking, the Mahāyāna, the liberal and progressive wing of Buddhism, was concerned more with the integration into the doctrine, as a supplementary means to enlightenment, of as many arts and sciences as possible. Thus, its art is on the whole sacred art. The Hīnayāna, which was somewhat conservative, pursued the cultivation of the arts and sciences parallel to the study and practice of the doctrine. Hence, its works of art are on the whole profane. To these generalizations there are, of course, many exceptions. The Mahāyāna has produced a great deal of profane art, while the Hīnayana has produced a great deal of sacred art.

Buddhism and Politics

The relation between Buddhism and politics is not quite so simple as that between Buddhism and culture. For, being concerned with the individual rather than with the group, culture is related to Buddhism as personal religion, but not to Buddhism as institutional religion. Moreover, Buddhism comprises, from the institutional point of view, two groups, one large and one small, the first being the community of lay believers, both male and female, the second the noble Order of monks. These two groups need not have the same kind of relation to politics. In order to understand clearly the relation between Buddhism, both personal and institutional, on the one hand, and politics in the various senses of the term, on the other, it would be necessary to investigate the relations between (a) the Buddhist doctrine and political



theories, (b) Buddhism and the State, (c) the laity and the government, (d) the Saṅgha and the government, (e) the individual monk and the government, (f) the layman and practical politics, and (g) the monk and practical politics.

(a) As far as our knowledge goes, the Buddha confined his attention strictly to questions of religious discipline, and refrained from making any pronouncement upon the relative merits of rival political theories and systems. During his lifetime, as is well known to historians, two types of government prevailed in north-eastern India, the monarchical and the republican; but the Buddha did not praise or condemn either. His statement that so long as the Vajjians, a confederacy of republican tribes, would "assemble repeatedly and in large numbers, just so long their prosperity might be looked for and not their decay"¹, cannot be regarded as favouring republicanism, any more than if he had said that King Ajātaśatru could, if he was clever enough, break the confederacy, his statement could have been interpreted as approving autocracy. He merely stated the facts of the case without passing any ethical judgement. On one point, however, the Buddha, and after him the entire Buddhist tradition, was quite explicit: the government must uphold the moral and spiritual law. Being the means to enlightenment, Buddhism naturally demands that the State should recognize the fact that the true goal of life is not to eat, drink and reproduce the species, but to attain nirvana, and that, therefore, it has the duty of providing for its citizens a political and social organization within which both monks and the laity can live in accordance with the Dharma. Between Buddhism, on the one hand, and any political theory which recognizes, either implicitly or explicitly, the supremacy of the moral and spiritual law and makes provision for its individual and collective application, on the other, there can be no disagreement. From the Buddha's social egalitarianism, as well as from his deliberate decentralization of authority in the Saṅgha, it may be inferred that a form of govern-

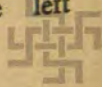
1. *Dīgha-nikāya* II, 73.



ment, in theory democratic, in effect aristocratic (for an intelligent electorate would naturally elect the best man), would be most in accordance with his Teaching. Buddhism has no objection to either a socialistic or to a capitalist state provided it makes provision not only for the material but also for the moral and spiritual well-being of its subjects.

(b) The nature of the relation between Buddhism and the State will vary in accordance with two factors, one being, of course, the nature of the State itself, the other the relative strength of the Buddhist population. In a predominantly non-Buddhist State, Buddhism would expect to enjoy the same rights as other religious minorities. That is to say, it would demand complete freedom to practise and propagate its tenets. Whether persecuted or tolerated, however, Buddhist citizens would always remain loyal to the State to which they belonged. In a predominantly Buddhist State, Buddhism would naturally expect official recognition as the State religion. Under democracy, the State is the people, and the government is only the agency through which the will of the people is carried out. If in their individual capacity the citizens support Buddhism it is only logical that they should do so in their collective capacity too. Also, Buddhism being divided not into sects but schools, its recognition as the State religion is attended by no difficulty. In Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos only the Theravada exists. In Mahāyāna lands, such as China and Japan, the laity generally respect and support all schools, and the State would do the same. Buddhist schools are tolerant, in fact, not only of each other, but also of non-Buddhist traditions.

(c) Not much need be said about the relation between the individual Buddhist citizen and the government, because Buddhism has no means of enforcing among its adherents uniformity of action in the affairs of secular life. It is true that Buddhism does not only inculcate certain principles but also indicates the main lines of their application; the details of the application are left



to be worked out by the individual Buddhist, each for himself. Buddhism exhorts, it does not command. It tells us, for example, that to take life is morally wrong; but it leaves us free to determine for ourselves whether the acceptance of this teaching obliges us to be a vegetarian or a conscientious objector. A Buddhist, however, should take an active interest in whatever concerns the material, moral and spiritual well-being of his fellow-citizens. In short, it should be his endeavour to live his social and political life in accordance with the Dharma.

(d) The relation of the Government to the Saṅgha is the same as that of the individual lay Buddhist to the individual bhikṣu: it is the Saṅgha-dāyaka, the patron and supporter of the Saṅgha. Just as it is the duty of the individual devotee to build temples and monasteries, publish religious books and periodicals, so it is the duty of the government of a Buddhist State to finance similar undertakings which, either because of the greatness of the cost involved or the complexity of the organization required to carry them out, are beyond the capacity of private citizens. In the same way, the relation of the Saṅgha to the government corresponds to the relation between the bhikṣu and the layman. Just as the monk, in his capacity of "guide, philosopher and friend", indicates to the lay devotee the path of righteousness, so it is the right and duty of the Saṅgha, in the person of its seniormost members, to advise the government not only on the propagation of the Dharma but also on its application to the social and political life of the nation. The Saṅgha must also be able to draw attention to and freely criticize deviations from the Dharma on the part of the government, the people, and the political leaders. Objection should not be levelled against such a connection between the Saṅgha and the government on the ground that "monks should not meddle in politics". Unless the Dharma is applied in the national life, it will gradually lose its hold over domestic life. Being concerned with the preservation of the Dharma, the Saṅgha is inevitably con-

cerned with its application also, whether to politics or any other sphere of life. And in any case, there would be no question of the Saṅgha's becoming involved in the rough and tumble of practical politics. Needless to say, it is unthinkable that the advice of the Saṅgha should ever tend to the promotion of anything but peace and prosperity, both at home and abroad. For whether it spoke to a king or to an emperor, to a President or to a Party Chairman, the Saṅgha would have but one message: "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred: it ceases only by love. This is the Law Eternal."¹

(e) The individual monk should have no relation with the government as government except through the Saṅgha, or with the consent of the Saṅgha. Unless there happens to be a separate portfolio for religious affairs, or a special provision for ecclesiastical councillors, as there is in Siam, he should not accept any office in the government, and even in such cases as these he should not accept any remuneration. A monk cannot be required to undertake any form of national service; neither is he liable to conscription. In a Buddhist State these rights would be recognized automatically. Monks suspected of committing offences against the civil and criminal law should, in a Buddhist State, first of all be tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal. If found guilty they should be disrobed and handed over to the civil court for further trial and punishment.

(f) Since the Buddhist layman is connected with the government, he is obviously obliged to take part in practical politics, and all that can usefully be said in this connection is that here, too, he should act in accordance with the Dharma.

(g) The monk, however, is under no such obligation. On the contrary, by virtue of the rules which, at the time of his ordination, he undertakes faithfully to observe, he is obliged to refrain from participation in practical politics. "One path leads to worldly gains, quite another path leads

1. Dhammapada, 5.



to nibbāṇa. Let not the bhikkhu, the follower of the Buddha, yearn for honour, but let him, on the contrary, develop dispassion.”¹ In order to conform to this advice, the monk should not join, or support, or even vote for, any political organization. Neither should he participate in meetings or any other public functions of a political or quasi-political nature. For those members of the Saṅgha who feel, as some in Burma and Ceylon have felt in recent times, that their duties as citizens have a stronger claim on them than their obligations as monk, the only honourable course is to leave the Saṅgha. Enlightenment and elections cannot be won together.

The Cultural and Political Heritage of Buddhism

Since the heritage of Buddhism constitutes, in one way or another, the theme of practically everything that is discussed in these pages, all that need be done here is to indicate such broad trends and basic principles as relate to (a) culture, civilization and education, and (b) war and peace.

Since culture generally, and in particular the fine arts, can be subsumed under the heading of samādhi, or meditation, they may be included within the means to enlightenment. Culture is part of Buddhism. It is not an ornament on its apparel but one of the limbs of its body. Where Buddhism is, there is culture. Whither in the world Buddhism goes, thither goes culture too. This is, indeed, one of the most obvious lessons of the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia, and it is repeated here only because its significance for the modern world in general, and for modern India in particular, is not always sufficiently appreciated. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Ladakh received with Buddhism not only their religion but practically the whole of their civilization and culture. How much the introduction of Buddhism meant to the people of

1. Dhammapada, 75.



Japan, for example, has been clearly stated by Dr. D. T. Suzuki. Speaking of the eagerness with which they took up the study of the Dharma in the Nara period, he remarks, "Buddhism was to them a new philosophy, a new culture, and an inexhaustible mine of artistic impulses."¹ Again, speaking of the reasons which led the government of that period to build temples and monasteries, maintain monks and nuns, and erect a gigantic bronze image of Buddha Vairocana, he reminds one of the fact that "In those days the Buddhist temples were schools, hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, refuges for old age; and the monks were schoolmasters, nurses, doctors, engineers, keepers of free lodges, cultivators of land, explorers of the wilderness, etc. When the community was still in a primitive stage of evolution the Buddhists were leaders in every sense, and the government naturally encouraged their activities."² The monks were also poets, painters, sculptors, carvers and metallurgists. Suzuki's statement, together with our own rider, is true not only of Japan but of all the other countries that have been mentioned. Is it not more than a coincidence that Milarepa, the greatest poet of Tibet, should also have been at the same time her most famous yogin, and that Siri Rahula, who occupies in Sinhalese literature a corresponding position, should have been the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon? China alone, of all the nations of Asia, had developed a civilization and culture of her own prior to the advent of Buddhism; but even China is indebted to Buddhism, if not for her culture, at least for its finest flowering. Buddhism was, in fact, a spring wind blowing from one end of the garden of Asia to the other and causing to bloom not only the lotus of India, but the rose of Persia, the temple flower of Ceylon, the zebina of Tibet, the chrysanthemum of China and the cherry of Japan. Asian culture is, as a whole, Buddhist culture. Therefore, as Suzuki says

1. "Japanese Buddhism", *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (Third Series), Rider, London, 1953, p. 340.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

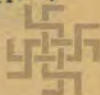


at the conclusion of the article already quoted, "If the East is one, and there is something that differentiates it from the West, the differentiation must be sought in the thought that is embodied in Buddhism. For it is in Buddhist thought and in no other that India, China, and Japan, representing the East, could be united as one. Each nationality has its own characteristic modes of adapting the thought to its environmental needs, but when the East as a unity is made to confront the West, Buddhism supplies the bond."¹ The full significance of this declaration will emerge later. Here it would suffice to emphasize the fact that if the history of Buddhism in Asia has any lesson for the world today, it is that, in their long trek from the burning mark of the Gange-tic valley to the gem-encrusted rocks of Ceylon in the South, the wind-swept uplands of Central Asia in the North, and the sun-confronting islands of Japan in the East, Buddhism, culture, civilization and education were inseparable friends and companions.

Hardly less striking is the almost invariable association of Buddhism with peace. The exceptions were not only extremely rare but of merely local importance. King Aniruddha of Burma made war upon the neighbouring kingdom of Thaton in order to seize a copy of the Tipitaka which the king of Thaton refused to have copied. This was, of course, not the most Buddhistic way of obtaining the precious documents. The monks of mediaeval Japan, who lived in huge fortress monasteries, raised and fought in their own armies, and for seven hundred years, until the destruction of their strongholds, Hieizan and Negoro, by the Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in the sixteenth century, were a menace to the secular arm.² Even the most industrious research has been unable to dig out from the two thousand five hundred years of Buddhist history, during which time

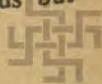
1. "Japanese Buddhism," *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (Third Series), Rider, London, 1953, p. 348.

2. Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, Bruno Cassirer (Oxford), 1951, p. 65; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Routledge, 1954, pp. 55, 404.



it spread over more than a quarter of the land surface of the globe, as many as ten incidents of this kind. Not a single page of Buddhist history has ever been lurid with the light of inquisitorial fires, or darkened with the smoke of heretic or heathen cities ablaze, or red with the blood of the guiltless victims of religious hatred. Like the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī, Buddhism wields only one sword, the Sword of Wisdom, and recognizes only one enemy—Ignorance. This is the testimony of history, and is not to be gainsaid.

But even admitting the close association of Buddhism with peace in Asia it may be questioned whether Buddhism was really the cause and peace the effect. Perhaps their association was fortuitous. Buddhism has a bloodless and Christianity a bloody record, it might be argued, not so much because of any difference between their teachings but because one was propagated among the warlike tribes of Western Europe and the other among the peaceable nations of Asia. The contention is unfounded. Tibet, before the introduction of Buddhism, was the greatest military power in Asia. The early history of Burma, Siam, and Cambodia shows that the people of those countries were originally of an extremely warlike, even aggressive, disposition. The Mongol hordes at one time overran not only the whole of Central Asia, but also India, China, Persia and Afghanistan, and thundered even at the gates of Europe. China exhibited at various periods of her history considerable military activity. The martial spirit of Japan is far from being subdued after nearly fifteen centuries of Buddhism. With the possible exceptions of India and China, the nations of Asia were originally no less pugnacious and predatory than those of Europe. Their subsequent peacefulness was due very largely to the influence of the pacific teachings of Buddhism. But one can hardly expect to be able to pacify turbulent and warlike nations by preaching to them a God of Battles. It may therefore be concluded that the association between Buddhism and peace is not fortuitous but



inevitable. Buddhism has been in the past, is at present, and will continue to be in the future, a factor contributing to the establishment of universal peace.

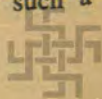
Buddhism and Culture Today

After four or five hundred years of comparative stagnation, the present century is witnessing a resurgence of Buddhism in many parts of Asia. In Japan this resurgence began as long ago as 1868, when the disestablishment of Buddhism at the commencement of the Meiji Era and the mild form of persecution which for some years overtook the religion and its adherents acted as a stimulus. A few years later Buddhism again raised its head in Ceylon, where the activities of Meggetuwatte Guṇānanda, H. Sumaṅgala and Col. H. S. Olcott precipitated a landslide in the direction of the national religion. Buddhist revival in India began as an organized movement in 1891, when Anagarika Dharmapala founded the Maha Bodhi Society. In China, the Buddhist awakening began with the work of His Eminence T'ai-Hsu, while the resurgence of the Dharma in Burma is associated with the name of another great scholar-saint, Ledi Sayadaw. Now, culture being subsumed under samadhi as part of the means to enlightenment, as has been seen already, the most important of the cultural implications of Buddhism today is, naturally, the fact that its resurgence and revival in Asia is sowing the seeds of an efflorescence of culture. Shoots are springing up in many places, and even a few scattered blossoms can be seen. Brief mention must therefore be made of the stimulus which Buddhism has given to culture in certain Buddhist countries of Asia and in India, the original home of the Buddha's teachings. Since from the East Buddhism has now spread to the West, some note must be taken of its cultural implications for that part of the world also.

Of all the Buddhist countries of Asia, it is in Ceylon and Burma, perhaps, that Buddhism is now most triumphantly resurgent. The achievements of Ceylon, consider-



ing that it is a tiny island with a little more than five million Buddhist inhabitants, have indeed been remarkable. It gave birth to two great international Buddhist organizations, the Maha Bodhi Society and the World Fellowship of Buddhists. With the possible exception of Japan, Ceylon, out of her scanty resources, has sent abroad far more dharma-dutas, or messengers of the Dharma, than any other Buddhist land. Her contributions to culture have been no less significant and far-reaching. Scholars like Coomaraswamy, Malalasekera and Buddhadatta, painters like Mañjuśrī Thera and George Keyt, and writers and poets like Siri Nissanka, Dhanapala and Tambimuttu are known and respected far beyond the confines of their native land. Within the country itself, the indigenous arts and crafts, customs and traditions are being revived. Link by link the chains of various alien and anti-Buddhist cultures, in which the Sinhalese people had for centuries been fettered, are being snapped. With the attainment of self-government within the Commonwealth of Nations, Sinhalese has begun to rival English in importance, and though modern Sinhalese literature has not yet produced any figure of more than local significance there is every possibility of its doing so before long. Similar trends can be observed in Burma; her political independence has led not only to a sudden and striking resurgence of Buddhism but also to a revival of Burmese Buddhist culture. No international figure has, however, yet emerged, nor any religious or cultural achievements of more than national interest and value. If in Siam, Cambodia and Laos the resurgence of Buddhism and the revival of Buddhist culture are less noticeable, it is largely because, being less subject to foreign influence, neither Buddhism nor its associated arts, crafts, customs and institutions ever declined to the extent that they did elsewhere. A certain benumbing lethargy did, however, creep over these lands, and even though they may not have needed a revival, in the sense of bringing back to life something that was dead, they did need a more vigorous circulation of the blood. That such a



quickening of the pulse did eventually take place in the present century is demonstrated by the publication, in forty-five volumes, of the entire Pali Canon in Siamese script. This magnificent edition, known as the Royal Siamese Tipiṭaka, is still the only complete and uniform edition of the Theravāda Canon to have been printed in Asia. In Japan, which has been subject to the influence of modern industrial civilization to a far greater extent than any other Asian country, the resurgence of Buddhism has led not so much to a revival of Buddhist culture, which, here too, was never dead, as to an attempt to preserve and consolidate it amidst the essentially alien and hostile environment of modern life. Though that attempt seems to be succeeding on the whole, it is so great a drain on the spiritual vitality of Japanese Buddhism that there can be little energy to spare for fresh cultural achievements. Yet it is a Japanese, Dr. D. T. Suzuki, who through his writings and lectures exercises on European and American thought and culture a deeper and wider influence than any other Buddhist. In China, Tibet, Nepal and other parts of the Buddhist world, politics have temporarily assumed paramount importance, so that little can be said on the present cultural implications of Buddhism in those countries. However, the recent action of the People's Republic of China in presenting to Burma two grains of the Buddha's relic bones, one set of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, two suits of robes used by the Han and Tibetan monks, one alms bowl and one cane staff, is, perhaps not without significance.¹

The revival of Buddhism which has been going on in India for the last sixty years, but particularly during the past decade, is one of the strangest and most striking events in the history of religions. Nowhere else in the world does one find a parallel case of a religion being revived centuries after its disappearance, not by the command of a despot, not as the result of foreign conquest, but simply because it is the will of the people. Yet this is what is happening

1. See *Sangāyana Bulletin*, Rangoon, April 1955, p. 2.

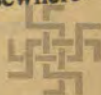


in India today. Less than a century ago Buddhism was unheard of in the land of its birth : if remembered at all, it was as an objectionable but fortunately extinct heterodoxy which had for a brief space troubled the placid waters of Brahmanism. Today it is a household word. Over the chair of the President of the Republic of India, in the House of the People, the message *dharmacakra pravarttanāya*, 'to turn the Wheel of the Dharma' flashes forth in electric light to the assembled representatives. At the very centre of the national flag as it floats over ten thousand public buildings, the same historic symbol reminds the nation not only of the sublime doctrine of the Buddha but also of the *dharmavijaya* or Conquest by Righteousness of Aśoka. Similarly, the lion-capital of Aśoka, representing the fearless proclamation in the Dharma to the four quarters of space, has been adopted as the official seal of the Republic.

It is hardly necessary to insist that the revival of Buddhism is inseparably linked with a renaissance of culture. Such a renaissance has, of course, been going on in India for some time, and the revival of Buddhism, despite its importance, is by no means the only contributing factor. Indeed, from another point of view, the revival of Buddhism is itself part of the great movement for the regeneration of the religious, cultural, economic and political life of the nation that has been agitating the whole sub-continent for more than a hundred years. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that the revival of Buddhism in India is, for this reason, linked with the renaissance of culture only to the extent that it contributes to the renaissance of Indian, in the sense of non-Buddhist, culture. It is also linked with the renaissance of a culture specifically and distinctively Buddhist. This Buddhist culture, as far as its manifestations in India are concerned, is an integral part of Indian culture.

India has recognized the importance of studies in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese for a full understanding of Buddhism and the subject has been discussed elsewhere.¹

1. See Chapter XIV.



These naturally have had their effect on writers in the modern Indian languages, who either translated works on Buddhist from the original or were inspired to write independent books that reflect Buddhist thought. Rabindranath Tagore's magnificent invocations to the Buddha, his drama, *Natir Puja* (The Dancing Girl's Worship), and his narrative poem, *Abhisar* are fine examples of the free handling of Buddhist themes. Other writers whose work has been deeply influenced by Buddhism include Yashpal, one of the greatest masters of the modern Hindi short story and novel, Gurubaksh Singh, whose *Asia dā Chāṇana*, a prose translation of Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*, is regarded as a classic in modern Punjabi literature, and Kumaran Assan, one of the three greatest Malayalam poets of the twentieth century. But like hundreds of less well-known poets, dramatists and novelists, they are all Hindus who have been deeply moved by the sublimity of the Buddhist ideal and the beauty of its cultural manifestations. Only two or three Indian Buddhists have succeeded in carving niches for themselves in the temple of literary fame. Dharmananda Kosambi's numerous writings on Buddhist subjects—described elsewhere¹—have secured him a name in Marathi literature, while the writings of Rahul Sankrityayan and Anand Kausalyayan are outstanding contributors to Hindi *belles-lettres*.

Hardly less stimulating has been the effect of Buddhist revival on the visual arts. Inspired by the frescoes of Ajanta, then newly discovered, and guided by the great art critic, E. B. Havell, the Bengal school of painting developed a style which, for the first time in centuries, handled Indian themes in a traditionally Indian manner. Both Abanindranath Tagore, and Nandalal Bose, the two great masters of this school, exhibited a marked fondness for subjects drawn not only from the life of the Buddha but also from Buddhist history and legend. Contemporary Indian art is, in many cases, only superficially Indian. The best known painters,

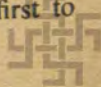
1. See pages 395-396.



one or two of whom enjoy international fame, derive their technique, style and inspiration almost exclusively from the latest European and American models. Those who remain faithful to the indigenous tradition and whose work is inspired by an awareness of spiritual values, regardless of their very high standard of achievement, seem unable to obtain anything like the recognition and appreciation they merit. Among these neglected artists are many whose work reflects deep Buddhist influence. There is, however, no professedly Buddhist painter of outstanding eminence. Once again the influence of Buddhism, deeply and subtly felt, penetrates far beyond the formal boundaries of Buddhism.

Though the Dharma is resurgent in Ceylon and Burma, and undergoing revival in India, the latest Buddhist renaissance has a long way to go before it reaches its peak. One swallow does not make a summer, and the cultural manifestations of Buddhist resurgence and revival, though at times strikingly beautiful, in comparison with the efflorescence of past ages do not yet amount to much more than two leaves and a bud. Even more so is this the case in Europe and America. Though Buddhism seems to have struck firm roots in Western soil, the roots have not had time to go very deep, and the cultural flowering which has so far taken place, perhaps prematurely, though beautiful, is inconspicuous. As in India, it relates chiefly to literature and the visual arts. Here too we must distinguish between non-Buddhist writers and artists whose work exhibits traces of Buddhist influence and the creations of those who, being professed Buddhists, derive their main inspiration from Buddhism.

From the historical point of view, perhaps the most striking feature of the Buddhist movement in the West is its absolute spontaneity. For reasons largely academic, about a century ago oriental religion and culture in general, and Buddhism in particular, started attracting the attention of Western scholars. Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan became subjects of study at the universities. This led first to



the publication and then to the translation of a number of Buddhist texts. Though Csoma de Kőrös (1784—1849) was undoubtedly the inaugurator of Buddhist studies in the West, it is to the great French scholar, Eugene Burnouf, that the credit for having placed them upon a scientific basis belongs. Thereafter a number of distinguished savants devoted themselves to the study of Buddhism. Prominent among them were Max Müller, who besides editing the two well-known series, *The Sacred Books of the East* (in which a number of Buddhist works were included) and *The Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, himself edited and translated some important Buddhist scriptures, and T. W. Rhys Davids, who in addition to publishing texts, translations and what are still standard works on Buddhism, founded the Pali Text Society, which since its inception has published considerably more than one hundred volumes of texts and translations, as well as the famous dictionary. Hard on the heels of the scholars came the popularizers. Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* (1879), easily the most widely known English book on Buddhism, and the stories and other writings of Paul Carus are the literary landmarks of this period. At the turn of the century Buddhism had begun to attract the attention not merely of philologists and historians but of men and women looking for a religion and a way of life more satisfying than Christianity. Schopenhauer, as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, had declared himself a Buddhist, and his *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* had for more than half a century been popularizing a version of Buddhism all over Europe. But though of far-reaching influence, his was an isolated case, and it was only towards the end of the century that Buddhism began to strike root in the West. Buddhist groups sprang up in a number of European capitals and in many parts of the United States. The Theosophical Society, especially during the lifetime of its founders, also helped in the dissemination of Buddhism. At present the Dharma may be said to be firmly established in England,



Germany, France, and the United States. Though the number of adherents is still small, their sphere of influence is steadily expanding. Since the end of World War II, not a year has gone by without the publication of important books on Buddhism in at least one European language, and there is an increasing tendency for such books to be the work of practising Buddhists. References to Buddhism (not always intelligent) are becoming more and more frequent in modern literature and in the daily press. Rainer Maria Rilke, the greatest German poet since Heine, has written a beautiful sonnet on the Buddha¹, and John Masefield, the present Poet Laureate of England, a creditable narrative poem. T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) contains a striking reference to the Buddha's Fire Sermon² while the imagery of a short passage in Edith Sitwell's "The Coat of Fire" is derived from *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*.³ W. B. Yeats'

Hermits upon Mount Meru or Everest
Caverned in night under the drifted snow⁴

are probably Buddhist hermits. Many of the poems rendered from the Chinese by Arthur Waley are Buddhist in theme or sentiment, and two or three of these have been included in anthologies of modern verse as English poems in their own right. The voluminous writings of Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell and Carl Gustav Jung, all of whom enjoy world-wide reputation, carry important and, on the whole, appreciative references to Buddhism. Jung's interest in Buddhism is, in fact, well known, while Russell has gone so far as to declare that if he were compelled to choose between the religions of the world he would choose Buddhism. None of the poets and writers so far mentioned are Buddhists, however, and a Buddhist has yet to make a name

1. *Neue Gedichte*, I, 1907.

2. Line 308.

3. *Selected Poems* (Penguin Books, 1952), p. 12, lines 23-25.

4. *Collected Poems*, Macmillan, 1950, p. 333.

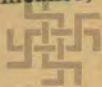


for himself in modern European and American literature.

In the field of the visual arts the converse is true. While Buddhism seems to have had no influence at all upon modern Western painting and sculpture, the Buddhist movement in the West has already produced Buddhist artists of outstanding brilliance. Nicholas Roerich, who achieved international fame with his decor for Diaghiliev's ballet version of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, subsequently produced, mainly under the inspiration of Tibetan Buddhism, of which he had direct knowledge, series after series of canvases marked by powerful composition, brilliant colouring and profound symbolism, and all not only bathed in "the light that never was on sea or land" but pervaded by a mighty rushing wind of inspiration which would have been demoniacal had it not been so divine. Earl H. Brewster, though in his later years he lost touch with Buddhism, produced his best work under its influence. Only his own retiring disposition prevented his sculptures and paintings of the Buddha from being more widely known. Like Roerich, Lama A. Govinda, who is not only an artist but a writer, scholar, thinker and mystic of no ordinary calibre, derives his main inspiration from Tibetan Buddhism. He is, in fact, a member of a Tibetan religious order, and his art is perhaps even more deeply and purely Buddhist than that of either Roerich or Brewster. Not without significance is the fact that all three artists eventually made their home in India. Roerich and Brewster spent their last years here, while Govinda still works in the shadow of the Himalayas. All three, again, have shown that in its westward no less than in its eastward movement Buddhist art can retain the spiritual elevation, the sheer sublimity, which has ever been its most striking and characteristic feature. The influence of Buddhism on Western music has been negligible. Mention should, however, be made of Berg's "Music for Wesak."

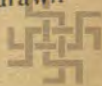
Buddhism and Politics Today

Though mere numbers have little cultural significance,



they do count politically, so that the political, unlike the cultural implications of Buddhism in the modern world, are necessarily confined to Asia in which continent alone it counts its adherents by the million.

From what has been said above it should already be clear that in the present, no less than in the past, Buddhism implies peace. But this peace is not a condition of unstable political equilibrium but rather a state of mind purified from all feelings of antagonism and thoroughly permeated by that impersonal and universal love which the Buddhists call *maitri*. Buddhism works from within outwards. Its hierarchy enjoys no international diplomatic status, and chooses to act not by means of behind-the-scenes political wire-pulling but by the open practice and propagation of the pacific teachings of the Buddha. On the political plane, Buddhism does not take sides. Love, in the sense of *maitrī*, is the most powerful force in the world; but it is a neutral force. Whether one's love be directed towards concrete persons and things, or whether it be directed towards abstract conceptions and ideals, if it causes one to feel hatred towards some other object, of a different kind, it is of a limited extent, and therefore not true love but only a species of attachment. Similarly, if peace, which is a form of love, is not universal it is not peace at all. The conclusion of a private peace between two or more nations, to the exclusion of the remainder, is in reality impossible. Should such a 'peace' in any way threaten the security of any other state even its observance would be on no higher a moral plane than the honesty that is popularly supposed to exist among thieves. India having accepted Aśoka's great ideal of *dharmavijaya* or Conquest by Righteousness, it was inevitable that this very Buddhist *maitrī*, or love and goodwill towards all, should form the ultimate spiritual basis of her policy of dynamic neutrality in world affairs. It is the *raison d'être* of the fact that, while working unremittingly for world peace, the Government of India consistently refuses to align itself with any power bloc. Such an attitude has naturally drawn



her closer to the Buddhist countries of South-East Asia, whose respective policies are naturally inspired by one and the same ideal. But by its very nature, such a relationship does not and cannot imply hostility or even indifference towards any other country or group of countries. In fact, it is not one political group among other groups, with its own exclusive preferences and limited loyalties, but rather a slowly expanding centre radiating to the world the impersonal, universal and neutral power of *maitrī*. It is in this light that one must view the Government of India's attempts to renew her ancient ties with the countries of Asia. It is because Buddhism alone can provide the necessary basis for these attempts that its political implications for Asia, and through Asia for the whole world, are so enormous and so important.

The Future

Prophecy is a proverbially hazardous game; but it may be confidently asserted that if we had the power of dipping into the future "as far as human eye can see", we should behold there Buddhism softly pacing through the centuries hand in hand with culture and peace. So far as the immediate future is concerned, there is little doubt that the tempo of Buddhist resurgence and revival throughout Asia, as well as that of its propagation all over the non-Buddhist world, will be accelerated with the passing of every remaining decade of the present century. The cultural manifestations of Buddhism will bloom more and more profusely while the grey-green olive of peace, lovingly tended by the ever-stronger-growing hands of the Dharma, will put forth their black, shining fruits for the healing of the nations in ever greater abundance. If the cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world succeed in working themselves out along the present lines of their development, our two leaves and a bud will soon grow into a whole forest of flowers.



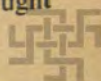
B. REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM: THE MAHA BODHI SOCIETY

A third of the modern world is Buddhist! This is no small achievement for Buddhism. The reading of history creates an impression in the mind that if this great religion had not had to struggle against unfavourable political conditions, the conquest of the world by Buddhism would have been complete. However, the Buddhist world today is by no means small. Tibet, China with Manchuria and Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Indo-China, Siam (Thailand), Burma and Ceylon are Buddhist. Although Malaya and Indonesia cannot be claimed as Buddhist lands, the Buddhist population in these countries is not negligible. Excluding the Muslim lands in the Middle East and Russia, the whole of Asia is thus practically Buddhist.

Although Buddhism originated in India, today it is not much in evidence in that sub-continent. This does not, however, mean that there is no Buddhism in India at all. In the eastern parts of the country, in East Bengal and in parts of Assam, Buddhism still exists and is practised. It also exists, although this is not generally known, in parts of Rajputana, in the hill district of Nainital and in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The number of Buddhists in Orissa is considerable, and Sikkim and Bhutan in the Himalayan region are completely Buddhist. Further, half the population of Nepal is Buddhist. Although Nepal has a separate political existence, culturally it belongs to the orbit of Indian thought.

The Buddhist population of Rajputana, Nainital, Ajmer and Orissa is, after a long period, gradually becoming aware of its religious identity and Buddhism in these places is coming into its own.

About the year 1885, Sir Edwin Arnold, author of the famous *The Light of Asia*, wrote a number of articles in *The Telegraph*, a London periodical of which he was the editor, and drew attention to the neglected state of the temple at Bodh Gaya and its surroundings. These articles caught



the eye of the Venerable Dharmapala, who was deeply moved by them. Dharmapala came of an aristocratic family of Ceylon, but he abandoned all the good things of the world that were his, and became 'anāgārika' (homeless). He dedicated his life to the restoration of the Maha Bodhi temple as well as to the revival of the Noble Dhamma in the land of its birth.

In pursuance of his resolve, Dharmapala, who was then in the prime of life, set forth for India and paid his first visit to Bodh Gaya in January 1891. His heart broke at what he saw of the temple and the condition of the images in it. He returned to Ceylon in May 1891 and founded the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo. The maintenance of a staff of bhikkhus at Bodh Gaya representing the Buddhist countries of Asia, and the publication of Buddhist literature in English and Indian languages were two of the objects of this newly-founded society.

The Maha Bodhi Society sent its first mission to Bodh Gaya on June 10th, 1891. The mission consisted of four monks who, on their arrival, found shelter in the Burmese Rest House—so called, because it was built by the Burmese King, Mindon Min. Bodh Gaya was then within the province of Bengal whose people greeted the appearance of the bhikkhus with enthusiasm. A leading daily of Bengal in those days wrote on the occasion: "Why should not this unlooked for return of Buddhism in the form of a Buddhist colony at Bodh Gaya bring back with it the hope that the Hindus will recover their place among the great nations of the world?"¹

The holding at Bodh Gaya of an International Buddhist Conference was the second achievement of the Society. Although the conference was organized on a small scale, China, Japan, Ceylon and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were also represented. The object of this Conference, which was held in October 1891, was to draw the attention of the Buddhist world to the state of affairs at Bodh Gaya, as it was

1. *Indian Mirror*, November 3, 1891.



realized that the movement for the restoration of the temple started by the Maha Bodhi Society could not succeed without the support and co-operation of Buddhists throughout the world.

The next activity of the Society was to launch, in May 1892, its organ, *The Maha Bodhi and the United Buddhist World*, which was to be used as an instrument for the propagation of the Dharma not only in India but in all the countries of the world where English was understood. The journal, which was published from Calcutta, was edited by the Venerable Dharmapala. It was actively supported by and enjoyed the sympathy of a considerable section of the Indian intelligentsia.

All this time the Venerable Dharmapala saw nothing but encouragement and he continued his work towards the fulfilment of his mission with unabated energy. But he came up against two unexpected hurdles. The Mahant of Bodh Gaya, who was in possession of the temple, saw danger and wanted the Buddhist monks to leave. The incidents that followed are too well known to need recounting. The powers that be, too, came to the aid of the Mahant in spite of the voices of disapproval from men like Sir Edwin Arnold and Col. H. S. Olcott. However, nothing daunted the Maha Bodhi Society and they continued their work with redoubled energy.

The Venerable Dharmapala undertook a second voyage to America at the invitation of Dr. Paul Carus, the author of the famous *Gospel of Buddha*. On this occasion he stayed in America for a year in the course of which he delivered many lectures on Buddhism and the work of the Maha Bodhi Society, and founded the American Maha Bodhi Society. Convinced by his speeches, several Americans were converted to Buddhism.

The humanitarian aspect of the work of the Maha Bodhi Society was evidenced in 1897 when severe famine broke out in Bengal. The Society immediately opened a relief fund and sent an appeal to all the Buddhist countries



of Asia for help. The response was prompt and a substantial sum was collected for the purpose of feeding and clothing more than a thousand men, women and children for about six months.

The year 1900 must be regarded as an eventful one for the Maha Bodhi Society, for in that year three branches of the Society were opened at Madras, Kuśinagara and Anuradhapura (in Ceylon). In 1902 the Venerable Dharmapala visited America once more and was able to secure substantial financial aid for the Maha Bodhi Society, chiefly from Mrs. Mary E. Foster of Honolulu. He also succeeded in gathering round him a number of distinguished people who were desirous of working for the cause of Buddhism.

The Maha Bodhi Society became a registered body in 1915 with Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee as its first president. Within the next five years, the Dharmarājika Caitya Vihāra of the Society was built in Calcutta. In recognition of the distinguished position it had won, the Society was presented in 1920 with a casket containing the relics of the bones of the Buddha, which were to be enshrined in the Vihāra. These relics were discovered at Bhattiprolu in the Krishna district of Madras by archaeological explorers in 1891 and kept, till such time as they were presented to the Maha Bodhi Society, in the Madras Museum. The Dharmarājika Caitya Vihāra was formally opened on November 20, 1920, by the Governor of Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay. On the morning of that day, the President of the Society, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, received at Government House from Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquis of Zetland) the sacred relics which were brought to the new shrine in a picturesque procession.

A new chapter opened with the dawn of freedom in India. The interminable litigation with the Mahant in which the Maha Bodhi Society was involved had produced no result. Now, the Government of Bihar came forward with legislation for the management of the temple and had the Buddha Gaya Temple Act, 1949, passed. Under this Act, a Com-

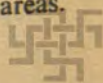


mittee called the Buddha Gaya Temple Management Committee, consisting of four Buddhists and four Hindus, has been constituted. The Committee is entrusted with the management and control of the temple. Thus, after sixty years of hard struggle, the Maha Bodhi Society has partly succeeded in one of its main objectives—the restoration of the temple to the Buddhists.

Bodh Gaya again began to attract the attention of the whole world, and groups of pilgrims came to visit it all the year round. As if by charm, Bodh Gaya, erstwhile an insignificant village, was transformed overnight. It now hums with life and bids fair to be the centre of the Buddhist world once more.

Meanwhile, however, the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra had been built at Sarnath. When the Venerable Dharmapala came to India, Sarnath, which is famous in the history of Buddhism, had been reduced to a tiny village surrounded by jungle which was the grazing ground of wild pigs. The Venerable Dharmapala took upon himself the task of restoring it, and towards this end conceived the idea of erecting a vihāra. A suitable site was selected for the purpose and the building was finally completed in 1931. With the subsequent establishment of the Maha Bodhi Vidyalaya, the Vihāra Library, the Maha Bodhi Free Dispensary, the Maha Bodhi Primary School and the Teachers' Training College, Sarnath is once again pulsating with life.

The impact of the expanding activities of the Maha Bodhi Society was soon felt throughout India, and the formation of the Buddha Society of Bombay in 1922 was a result of this influence. This society owned a library and a hall in which fortnightly discourses on Buddhism were held. In 1953 this vihāra was handed over to the Maha Bodhi Society for proper management. With the financial help of Seth Birla, the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi had a small vihara built at Parel. This was called Bahujana Vihāra, and was intended to satisfy the spiritual needs of the workers and labourers who live in the surrounding areas.



This vihāra has also passed into the hands of the Maha Bodhi Society for management.

The Society at present has branches at Gaya, Sarnath, New Delhi, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras, Nautanwa and Ajmer. There is a Buddha Society at Nagpur which functions independently. Many parts of the country are anxious to have branches of the Maha Bodhi Society, but the lack of funds at the disposal of the Society stands in the way of the fulfilment of this desire.

With the home-coming in 1949 of the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples of the Buddha, the interest of the people of India in Buddhism and their innate love of the Buddha was revealed in a surprising manner. The vast sub-continent welcomed the relics as if the dearest sons of the country had come back after long years of absence. Finally, these relics were taken to Sanchi, the place of their discovery, and re-enshrined in the newly built vihara at a fitting ceremony which was attended by thousands of men and women from all over the world, headed by the Prime Ministers of India and Burma. The scene was unforgettable and the occasion historic.

The celebration of the Maha Bodhi Society's Golden Jubilee at Sanchi synchronized with the enshrinement of the relics, as did the International Buddhist Conference which was held there.

It is noteworthy that while ten years ago the festival of Buddha Purnimā was celebrated only in one or two Buddhist temples maintained by the Maha Bodhi Society, now it is observed all over the country, including places which are strongholds of orthodoxy. This is indicative of the successful work done by the Maha Bodhi Society over a period of sixty years. The seed sown by the Venerable Dharmapala, and nurtured by the self-sacrificing workers of the Maha Bodhi Society, has sprouted and all the signs are that it will have a glorious growth.

Now that India has come into her own, numerous and frequent cultural missions come to visit this country from



Buddhist countries in East Asia, thereby re-establishing the close link that once existed between India and those countries. The political effect of this is far-reaching.

The Maha Bodhi Society has taken up in right earnest the task of publishing translations of the Buddhist scriptures into Indian languages which has brought the teachings of the Buddha within the reach of everybody. This work is making progress and the result is highly encouraging.

The publication of translations of the Tripiṭaka has created in the public mind a genuine interest in Buddhism. The regular weekly lectures on Buddhism delivered at the Maha Bodhi Hall are always well attended.

Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, as far back as the year 1908, introduced the study of Pali at Calcutta University from the Matriculation stage right up to the M.A. degree examination. This has led to the revival of a language which for ages had lain forgotten in the land of its birth. The post graduate department of Pali at Calcutta University has done and is doing pioneer research work, thereby bringing to light the treasures of Pali literature. The example of Calcutta University has been followed by other universities of the country, particularly those at Patna, Banaras, Lucknow, Nagpur, Bombay, Poona and Baroda. The latest to come into the field is the Nalanda Pali Institute of Rajgir (Rājagṛha).

Although the Maha Bodhi Society's work is mainly confined to India, its influence is felt over a much wider area, and extends to the eastern and south-eastern parts of Asia, and to Europe, America, Australia and Africa, where thousands of people are becoming interested in this great religion. Buddhist viḥāras now exist in England, Germany, Australia and the United States of America.

The message of Buddhism and the principle on which it rests have assumed new significance in the world of today, and the peace of which U.N.O. speaks is but an indication that the whole world is gradually veering round to the beliefs embodied in the religion of the Buddha.



CHAPTER XVI

In Retrospect

The story of Buddhism in India and abroad has been outlined in the foregoing chapters in order to show the link that has bound India and the other countries of the East for numberless centuries.

The importance of Buddhism as a religion lies primarily in its concept of kindness, humanity and equality. Buddhism was no adventitious phenomenon. It arose out of the background of Vedic sacrifices and the philosophical speculations current before and up to the Buddha's own times. The story of his life and teachings according to the older Pali texts places more reliance on his humanity than on his divinity.

His teachings can be described briefly as:

- (1) the abstention from evil;
- (2) the accumulation of whatever is good and noble;
and
- (3) the purification of the mind.

His belief in Karma is of special sociological significance inasmuch as it attributed greater importance to personal action (karma) than to lineage (jāti).

The account given of the Buddhist Councils of Rājagṛha, Vaisali and Pāṭaliputra follows the orthodox tradition. A French scholar, André Bareau, has, however, made out a case for *two* Councils at Pāṭaliputra, the first of which brought about a schism in the community of the Buddhist monks. At this first Council, the Mahāsaṅghikas separated from the Sthaviravādins and at the second the Sarvāstivādins broke away from the main body of the Sthaviravādins. They now



took the name of the Vibhajyavādins and were patronized by the great Emperor Aśoka.

In the reign of Aśoka the Great, Buddhism, although divided into as many as eighteen different sects and schools, became, under royal patronage, not only an all India religion, but a world religion.

A chapter has also been devoted to the expansion of Buddhism to the northern countries, such as Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan (Central Asia), China, Tibet, Mongolia, Nepal, Korea and Japan, as well as to the southern countries of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Viet-Nam (Campā), Malaya and Indonesia.

The principal sects and schools of Buddhism in India and abroad have also been described and the gradual evolution of the simple teachings of the Theravāda school into the complexities of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools in India and their further development in China and Japan have been clearly traced.

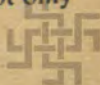
A general idea of the Tripiṭaka literature in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese has been given and important books in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit have been surveyed in detail.

Another interesting topic bears upon the Buddhist system of education. It has been shown that it transcended the narrow limits of the family school of Brahmanical times and expanded into the larger monastic school which threw its doors open to all—Buddhists and non-Buddhists, Indians and foreigners.

An attempt has also been made to tell the reader of some of the great Buddhists who followed Aśoka in India and abroad.

The great Chinese travellers, Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, have given us a picture of Buddhism in the India of their day. A separate chapter has been devoted to them in token of India's grateful recognition.

It is universally admitted that India owes to Buddhism the beginnings of her plastic arts. Buddhism became a source of inspiration for architecture, sculpture and painting not only



in India but wherever Buddhism went.

A remarkable change came over Buddhism in the course of time. From its earlier form of ethical religion, Buddhism changed into the Mahāyāna doctrine which deified the Buddha and devotion to the person of the Buddha became the dominant feature of the religion. A follower of the Buddha no longer cared for the deliverance of his own self, but preferred, out of compassion (*karuṇā*) for his comrades, to defer his own deliverance; he was even prepared to be born again and again if he could thereby help his fellowmen to achieve their deliverance. Thus the change from the selfish 'turning away from the world' (*nivṛtti*) to the beneficent activity of help and service to others (*pravṛtti*) was largely responsible for gaining public support. In philosophy also Buddhism turned from the pluralistic to the monistic conception of the universe. This brought Buddhism nearer to the doctrine of Advaitism advocated by the Vedāntins.

The doctrine of Māyā and the two types of truths *saṃvṛtti-satya* (conventional truth) and *paramārtha-satya* (absolute truth) were also accepted by the Vedāntins.

Sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals came to be condemned and were replaced by offerings of corn and grain.

The Mahābhārata, the great Hindu epic, takes for granted the importance of personal conduct and refers to the Noble Eightfold Path.¹ The Buddhist gods came to be respected and the Buddha himself came to be recognized as an Avatāra, a reincarnation of Viṣṇu.²

The cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world have been discussed at length. It has been shown that with the spread of the Buddha's religion to the Asian countries, Buddhist culture also was introduced to them. These countries profited from these new ideas not only in religion but also in culture which, in its widest sense, is "that coupled whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and

1. III, 2, 7, 73.

2. Bhāgavata, I, 3, 24.



habits acquired by man as member of society”.

Buddhism has been a great force for peace in the world. The Buddha's policy of peace, self-sacrifice, kindness and charity finds an echo in the following lines from the Mahābhārata:

*Akrodhena jayet krodham asādhūm sādhunā jayet
jayet kadaryam dānena jayet satyena cāṇṛtam¹*

(One should conquer anger by cool-headedness,
evil by good, miserliness by charity and falsehood
by truth.)

This spirit moulded the lives of numerous saints in mediaeval India and the great minds of modern India, too, have been guided by the Buddha's teachings. The influence that the life of the Master exercised on Mahatma Gandhi is self-evident. He turned the principle of satyagraha into action in his private and public life and some of the present Indian leaders are the direct heirs of their Master, the Father of the Indian Nation. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has declared times without number his firm faith in the peaceful method of settling disputes at home and abroad. This accounts for the fact that India has refrained from joining any power bloc. The declared foreign policy of the Government of India is based on the five rules of conduct, the Pañca-śīla, itself a Buddhist term, which allows for the possibility of peaceful co-existence between peoples of different ideologies.

1. Udyoga-parva (B.O.R.I. Edition), 30,58.



GLOSSARY

*Some common Pali names and terms and their
Sanskrit equivalents*

PALI	SANSKRIT
Abhidhamma	Abhidharma
Ālāra Kālāma	Āḍāra Kālāma
Amata	Amṛta
Apadāna	Avadāna
Atthadassī	Arthadarśī
Bhikkhu	Bhikṣu
Bhikkhuṇī	Bhikṣuṇī
Cetiya	Caitya
Dhamma	Dharma
Dhammacakkapavattana	Dharmacakrapravartana
Dhātugabbha	Dhātugarbha
Gayāsīsa	Gayāśīrṣa
Jīvaka Komārabhacca	Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya
Kaccāyana	Kātyāyana
Kassapa	Kāśyapa
Kusinārā	Kuśinagara
Mahākassapa	Mahākāśyapa
Makkhali Gosāla	Maṣkarin Gośāla
Mahinda	Mahendra
Mahāparinibbāna	Mahāparinirvāṇa
Moggallāna	Maudgalyāyana
Moggaliputta	Maudgaliputra
Mettā	Maitrī
Nibbāṇa	Nirvāṇa
Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Nirgrantha Jñātrputra
Nanda Vaccha	Nanda Vacya
Pakarana	Prakaraṇa
Pakudha Kaccāyana	Kakuda Kātyāyana



PALI	SANSKRIT
Pātimokkha-sutta	Prātimokṣa-sūtra
Parinibbāṇa	Parinirvāṇa
Pāṭaliputta	Pāṭaliputra
Piyadassī	Priyadarśī
Rājagaha	Rāja gr̥ha
Saddhamma	Saddharma
San̄ghamittā	San̄ghamitrā
Sāriputta	Śāriputra
Subhadda	Śubhadra
Sāvatthi	Srāvasti
Sutta	Sūtra
Thera	Sthavira
Tipiṭaka	Tripiṭaka
Tissa Moggaliputta	Tiṣya Maudgaliputra
Thūpa	Stūpa
Upekkhā	Upekṣā
Vesākha	Vaiśākha
Vesālī	Vaiśālī
Vibhajjavāda	Vibhajjavāda
Visākhā	Viśākhā



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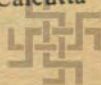
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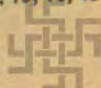
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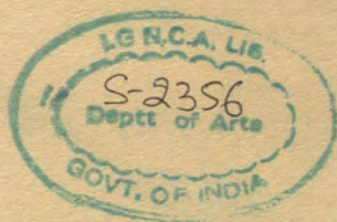


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Buddha-namaskārah.

namō vēda-rahasyāya
namastē vēda-yōnayē:
namō buddhāya śuddhāya,
namstē jñāna-rūpiṇē.

— Kūrma-purāṇa.



